

D. of Buc. 1829

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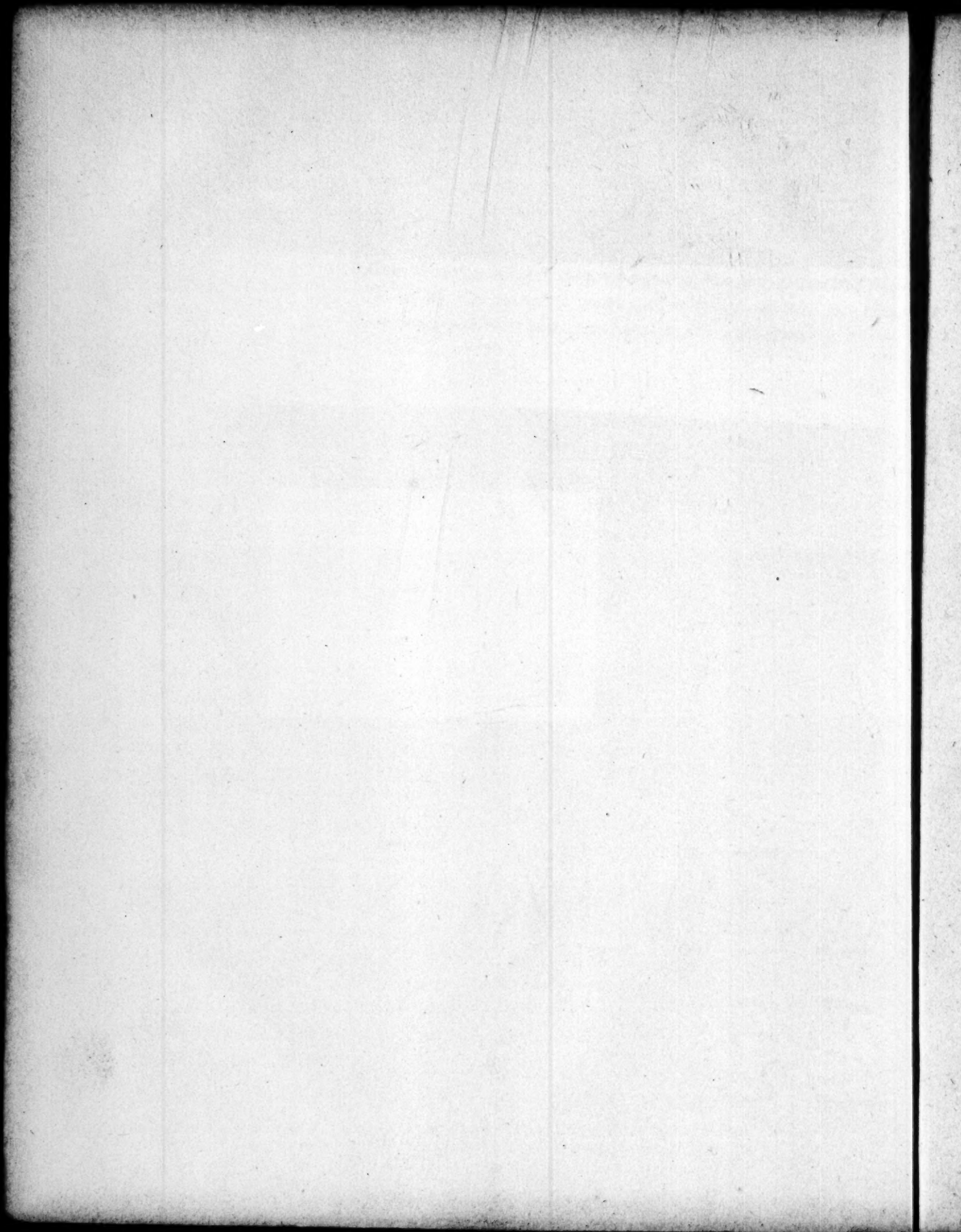
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Temple (Sir John) The Irish Rebellion . . . also Sir Henry Tichburne's
History of the Siege of Drogheda in the Year, 1641, 19th Century
rusia gilt, three-line borders, panelled back, g. e., gilt bookplate of the
Duke of Buckingham sm. 4to Dublin, For P. Campbell, 1716





THE
Irish Rebellion
A HISTORY OF THE RISING AND THE PROGRESS
OF THE CAUSE OF THE IRISH IN THE KINGDOM OF
IRELAND.

By JAMES M. COLEMAN, Esq., of the
Middle Temple, Barrister at Law.

London: Printed by J. JOHNSON, in Pall-mall.

1848.

THE HISTORY OF THE IRISH REBELLION OF 1848
By JAMES M. COLEMAN, Esq., of the
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T H E
Irish Rebellion :

Or, an HISTORY of the Beginnings and First Progress
of the General Rebellion raised within the Kingdom of

I R E L A N D,

Upon the Three and Twentieth Day of *October*, in the
Year 1641. Together with the Barbarous Cruelties and Bloody
Massacres which ensued thereupon.

By Sir *JOHN TEMPLE*, Kt. Master of the Rolls and one of His Maje-
sty's most Honourable Privy Council within the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

A L S O,

Sir *HENRY TICHBURNE*'s HISTORY of the
Siege of *Drogheda* in the Year, 1641.

To which is Added,

The State of the Protestants of Ireland

Under the late

King James's Government,

In which their Carriage towards him is justified, and the absolute
Necessity of their endeavouring to be freed from his Government;
and of submitting to their present Majesties is demonstrated.

DUBLIN: Printed for *Patrick Campbell*, and are to be Sold
at his Shop on the Lower-end of *Cork-Hill*. **MDCCLXVI.**

THE Irish Rebellion:

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In which their Carriage towards him is insinuated, and the absolute
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DUBLIN: Printed for Patrick Campbell, and are to be sold
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T H B

Irish Rebellion :

O R,

An History of the Beginnings, and First Progress
of the General Rebellion Raised within the
Kingdom of *Ireland*, in the Year 1641.

THE Kingdom of *Ireland* (which hath for almost Five Hundred Years continued under the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*) was presently after the first Conquest of it, planted with *English* Colonies, long since worn out, or for the most part become *Irish*. And therefore it hath again in this last Age been supplied with great numbers of People drawn out of *England* and *Scotland*, to Settle their Habitations in that Country. Now the most execrable Plot laid by the *Irish*, for the Universal Extirpation of all these British and Protestants, the Bloody Progress of their Rebellion within the compass of the first two Months; their Horrid Cruelties, in most Barbarously Murdering, or otherwise Destroying many Thousands of Men, Women, and Children, peaceably Settled, and securely Intermixed among them, and that without any Provocation, or considerable Resistance at first made, I intend shall be the present Subject of the First Part of this ensuing Story.

The *Irish* want not many Fabulous Inventions to magnifie the very first beginnings of their Nation : Whether the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, *Africans*, *Goths*, or some other more Eastern Nation that Anciently Inhabited *Spain*, came and Sate down first in *Ireland*, I shall not much trouble my self here to enquire. If we should give Credit to the *Irish* Chronicles or their Bards (who deliver no certain Truths) we might find Stuff enough for an ancient Pedegree, made up out of a most various strange Composure of the *Irish* Nation. But to let them

The Original
of the *Irish*.

B

The IRISH Rebellion.

* Tools of the old Britain word Toll, a Hill-Country, Brim of Brin, Woods.

Cavenagh of Canve Strong. The view of Ireland by Spencer F. 35.

† Ireland is often called Scotia Major among ancient writers.

Ireland anciently divided into divers petty Principalities.

Isti reges non fuerunt ordinati solemnitate alicujus ordinis, nec unctionis sacramento, nec jure hereditario, vel aliqua proprietatis successione, sed vi & armis quilibet regnum suum obtinuit.

The black Book of Christ Church in Dublin, it is an ancient Manuscript kept there.

The first enterprize of the English upon Ireland, made by private Adventures.

them pass, there are certainly a Concurrence of divers Manners and Customs, such Affinity of several of their Words and Names, and so great Resemblance of many long used Rites, and still retained Ceremonies as do give us some Ground to believe that they do not improbably Deduce their first Original form some of those People. It may very well be Conjectured (for infallible Records I find none) that as the Eastern Parts of Ireland, Bordering upon England were first Planted by the old Britains: * Tool, Brine and Cavenagh the ancient Septs, and still Inhabitants of that Part of the Country, being old British Words. And as the Northern Parts of Ireland were first Inhabited by the Sythians, from whom it was called † Scyteland, or Scotland: So the Southern and more Western Parts thereof were Peopled from the Maritime Parts of Spain, being the next Continent, not by the now Spanish Nation, who are strangely compounded of a different Mixture of several People: But as I said Peradventure by the Gaules, who anciently Inhabited all the Sea-coasts of Spain, the Syrians, or some other of those more Eastern Nations, who intermixing with the Natural Inhabitants of that Country, made a Transmigration into Ireland, and so Settled some Colonies there.

The whole Kingdom of Ireland was divided into divers petty Principalities, of later Times there were five principal Chieftains, viz. Mac-Morough of Leinster, Mac-Cartys of Munster, O Neal of Ulster, O Connor of Connaught, and O Malagblin of Meath. For such were the Irish Denominations, and I do not find they were called Kings till about the coming over of the English, Giraldus Cambrensis who came into Ireland in the Time of Henry II. of England, being the first Writer that gives them that Title. Besides, as they came not in either by Hereditary Right or Lawful Election, so their Investiture was solemnized neither by Unction, or Coronation, they made their way by the Sword, had certain kind of barbarous Ceremonies used at their Inauguration, kept up their Power with a high hand, and held the People most monstrously enslaved to all the savage Customs practised under their Dominion. And thus they continued until the Reign of Hen. II. King of England, in whose Time the Undertakings for the Conquest of Ireland were successfully made by most powerful, though private Adventures upon this occasion.

Dermot Mac-Morough, King of Leinster, (being by the Kings of Connaught and Meath enforced to fly his Country) made his repair directly to Hen. II. King of England, then personally attending his Wars in France, and with much Earnestness implored his Aid for the Recovery of his Territories in Ireland, most injuriously, as he pretended

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pretended, wrested out of his Hands. The King refused to embark himself in his Quarrel, yet graciously recommended the Justice of his Cause to all his loving Subjects, and by his Letters Patents assured them that whosoever should afford the said *Mac Morough* Assistance towards his Re-settlement, should not only have free Liberty to transport their Forces, but be held to do very acceptable Service therein. Hereupon Earl *Strangebow* first engaging himself, determined as a private Adventurer to endeavour his Restoration with the utmost Force he could raise, he lying then very conveniently at *Bristol*, where *Mac-Morough* came unto him, in his Passage back from the King into *Ireland*; There were certain Conditions agreed upon between them, and a Transaction made by *Mac-Morough* of his Kingdom of *Leinster* unto the Earl, upon his Marriage with his only Daughter *Eva*. And so he being desirous to return speedily into his own Country, passed to *St. David's* in *South-Wales*, from whence is the shortest Passage out of *England* into *Ireland*, and there he further engaged *Fitz-Stephen* and *Fitz-Gerald*, private Gentlemen, in his Service: These, by their Power among their Countrymen in those Parts, having gotten together a Party of 490 Men, transported them in three Ships into *Ireland*, landed at the *Banne*, a little Creek near *Featherd*, in the County of *Wexford*, and there joyning with some Forces brought unto them by *Mac-Morough*, made their first Attempt upon the Town of *Wexford*, they were gallantly seconded by Earl *Strangebow*, who followed presently after with no very considerable Forces: And yet by the Power of their Arms, within a very short time so far prevailed in the Country, as made themselves Masters thereof, and so gained the Possession of all the Maritime Parts of *Leinster*.

King *Henry* upon the News of their prosperous Success in the sudden Reducement of so large a Territory by such inconsiderable Forces as they carried with them; desirous to share with his Subjects in the rich Fruits, as well as in the Glory of so great an Action, undertook an Expedition in his own Person into *Ireland* the Year following. And so strange an Influence had the very Presence of this great Prince into the Minds of the rude savage Natives, as partly by the Power of his Arms, partly by his Grace and Favour in receiving of them in upon their feigned Submissions most humbly tendered to him, he easily subdued a barbarous divided People.

The first Beginnings of the Conquests of this Kingdom were thus gloriously laid by this King, in the Year of our Lord, 1172. Now for the Land it self, he found it good and flourishing with many excellent

*Senoftram ad
hoc tam gra-
tiam noverit
quam licenti-
am obtinere.
Gir. Cam-
bren. expug-
nat. Hib. c. 1.*

Camb. Cap. 12.

*K. Henry the
2. his Expedi-
tion into Ire-
land. An. 1172.*

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cellent Commodities, plentiful in all kinds of Provision, the Soil rich and fertile, the Air sweet and temperate, the Havens very safe and commodious, several Towns and little Villages scattered up and down in the several Parts of the Country, but the Buildings so poor and contemptible, as when the King arrived at *Dublin* their chief City, and finding there neither Place fit for Receipt or Entertainment, he set up a long House made of smoothed Wattles after the manner of the Country, and therein kept his Christmas. All their Forts, Castles, stately Buildings and other Edifices were afterwards erected by the *English*, except some of their Maritime Towns which were built by the *Ostmanni* or *Easterlings*, who anciently came and inhabited in *Ireland*.

*Reg. Hoveden
callsit Palati-
um regium
miro artificio
de virgis levi-
gatis ad mo-
dum patrie
illius constru-
tum. fol. 528.
Christian Re-
ligion settled
in Ireland, by
Sedulius, Pal-
adius, and Pa-
tricius, in the
4th Age after
the Birth of
our Saviour.*

Moreover, he found likewise by several Monuments of Piety, and other remarkable Testimonies, that Christian Religion had been long since introduced and planted among the Inhabitants of the Land. It is not certainly, without some good Grounds, affirmed by ancient Writers, That in the fourth Age, after the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord and Saviour, some Holy and Learned Men came over out of Foreign Parts into *Ireland*, out of their pious Desires to propogate the blessed Gospel throughout the Kingdom, as *Sedulius*, *Paladius*, and besides several others, *Patricius*, the famous Irish Saint, (a *Britain* born at a Place now called *Kirk-Patrick* near *Glasgow* in *Scotland*, then the utmost Boundary of the *Britains* Dominions in those Parts) who out of meer Devotion came and spent much of their time among the *Irish*, and out of their Zealous Affections for the Conversion of a barbarous People, applied themselves with great Care and Industry to the instructing of them in the true Grounds and Principles of Christian Religion. And with so great Success, and such unwearied Endeavours did *St. Patrick* travel in this Work, (as if we will give Credit to some Writers) we must believe that the Church of *Armagh* was by him erected into an Archiepiscopal See, three hundred and fifty Bishops consecrated, great Numbers of Clergymen instituted, who (notwithstanding the notorious Impiety and continued Prophaness of the common Sort of People) being most of them Monks by Vow and Profession, of great Learning, very austere and strict in their Discipline, were so much taken notice of in those rude ignorant times, by other Nations, as in respect of them some gave unto the Island the Denomination of *Insula Sanctorum*. But so quickly did the Power of Holiness decay in the Land, as the Name was soon lost, and even the very Prints and Characters thereof among the very Clergy themselves obliterated; the Life of the People so beastly, their Manners so depraved and barbarous, as that King

*Rex Anglo-
rum Hen. nun-
cios solennes
Romam mit-*

Henry,

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Henry, when he entertained the first Thoughts of transferring his Arms over into *Ireland*, made Suit unto the Pope, that he would give him leave to go and conquer *Ireland*, and reduce those Beastly Men into the way of Truth. Answerable whereunto was the Tenor of Pope *Adrian's* Bull, as appears at large in *Parisiensis*, whereby he gave him liberty to go over and subdue the Irish Nation. A sufficient Demonstration of the Condition of that People, and what Opinion was held of them, as well by the Holy Father the Pope as other Princes. And the King at his Arrival found them no other than a Beastly People indeed. For the Inhabitants were generally devoid of all manner of Civility, governed by no settled Law, living like Beasts, biting and devouring one another, without all Rules, Customs, or reasonable Constitutions either for Regulation of Property, or against open Force and Violence, most notorious Murthers, Rapes, Robberies, and all other Acts of Inhumanity and Barbarism, raging without Controul or due Course of Punishment. Whereupon, He, without any manner of Scruple, or farther Inquisition into particular Titles, resolving as it seems to make good by the Sword the Pope's Donation, made a general Seizure of all the Lands of the whole Kingdom, and so without other Ceremony took them all into his own Hands.

And that he might the more speedily introduce Religion and Civility, and so draw on towards the accomplishment of that great Work which he had so gloriously begun, he first in a great Council held at *Lissemore*, caused the Laws of *England* to be received and settled in *Ireland*, then he afterwards United it to the Imperial Crown of *England*, making large distributions to his followers by particular grants, allotting out in great proportions the whole Land of *Ireland* among the English Commanders, who made Estates, and gave several shares to their Friends and Commilitants that came over private Adventurers with them. But before I pass further, I shall take the Liberty here to insert one Observation out of *Giraldus Cambrensis* concerning the Cause and Reasons of the Prosperity of the English undertakings in *Ireland*. He saith, that Synod, or Council of the Clergy, being there Assembled at *Armagh*, and that Point fully debated, it was unanimously agreed by them all, that the Sins of the People were the Occasion of that heavy Judgment then fallen upon their Nation, and that especially their buying of English Men from Merchants, and Pyrates, and detaining them under a most Miserable hard Bondage, had caused the Lord by Way of just Retaliation, to leave them to be reduced by the English to the same Slavery. Whereupon they made a publick Act in that

*tens rogavit
Papam Adria-
num ut sibi li-
cent Hibernia
Insulam in-
trare, & ter-
ram subju-
gare atque ho-
mines illos be-
stiales ad fi-
dem, & viam
reducere ve-
ritatis. Mat.
Paris. Anno
1156.*

*Rex antiquam
ab Hibernia
redibat concilium congre-
gavit apud
Lisemore, ubi
leges Anglie
ab omnibus
gratenter sunt
accepte & ju-
ratoria cauti-
one prestita
confirmata.
Mat. Paris,
An. 1172.
Ireland divi-
ded by King
Henry 2d. a-
mong his fol-
lowers, and
other advan-
turers.
Decretum est
itaque pradi-
catum*

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Ho concilio, & cum universitate consensu publico Statutum: ut Angli ubique per insulam servitutis vinculo municipali in pristinam revocentur libertatem. Gir. Camb. cap. 18. The numbers of British and Protestants destroy'd since the Rebellion. The fruitless Expeditions of K. John, and K. Richard 2d. into Ireland.

that Council that all the *English* held in Captivity throughout the whole Land should be presently restored to their former Liberty. If so heavy a Judgment fell then upon the Irish for their hard Usage of some few English, what are they now to expect? Or what Expiation can they now pretend to make for the late Effusion of so much innocent English Blood, after so horrid, despiteful and execrable a Manner? There being since the Rebellion first broke out, unto the Time of the Cessation made *September 15. 1643*, which was not full two Years after, above 300000 *British* and *Protestants* cruelly Murthered in cold Blood, destroyed some other Way, or expelled out of their Habitations, according to the strictest Conjecture and Computation, of those who seemed best to understand the Numbers of English planted in *Ireland*, besides those few which perished in the heat of Fight, during the War.

King John came into *Ireland* during his Minority, though to little purpose, but after, about the Twelfth Year of his Reign, upon the general Defection of the Irish, he made a second Expedition, and during his stay there, Built several Forts and strong Castles, many of which remain to this Day, he erected all the Courts of Judicature, and Contributed very much towards the Settlement of the English Colonies, as also of the civil Government. *King Richard* the II. made likewise in the Time of his Reign, upon the same Occasion two other Expeditions into *Ireland* in his own Person. But both those Princes out of a desire to spare the Effusion of English Blood, as also the Expence of Treasure, being likewise hasted back by the Distempers of their own Subjects in *England*, were both content to suffer themselves to be again abused by the feigned Submissions of the Irish, who finding their own Weakness, and utter Disability to resist the Power of those two mighty Monarchs, came with all Humility even from the farthest Parts of the Kingdom, to Submit to their Mercy: And yet it is well observed by some that say they returned back, not leaving one true Subject more behind them, then they found at their first Arrival. Howsoever by the very Presence of these Princes, and by the Careful Endeavours of the Governours sent over by other of the Kings of *England*, those that were Adventurers in the first Conquest, and such others of the English Nation as came over afterwards took Possession by Vertue of the former Grants of the whole Kingdom, drove the Irish in a Manner out of all the Habitable Parts of it, and Settled themselves in all the Plains and Fertile Places of the Country, especially in the Chief Towns, Ports, and upon the Sea-coasts. And to such a height of Power and Greatness, had some of those first Adventuring

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turing Commanders raised themselves here by Reason of the Addition of new Titles of Honour, the unlimited Jurisdictions and Priviledges enjoyed by them the great Rents they received, the numerous Dependence they had, that they began to look upon their own Possessions as Circumscribed within two narrow Limits, to Entertain private Animosities against each other to draw in the Irish (whom they had driven up into the Mountains, and ever esteemed as their most Deadly Enemies) to take Part in their Quarrels, being not ashamed to use their Assistance for the Enlargement of their own private Territories, as also to Crub the too exorbitant Power, as they thought, of their Opposites, though their own Compatriots and Jointenants in the Possession of that good Land. The Irish were very glad to Entertain this Occasion, and did ever foment by their utmost Power and Artifice these unnatural Broils and Dissentions amongst the English, whom they Mortally hated: For they living in a Manner out of Reach, as well as out of the Protection of all the English Laws and Government, were always Accounted not only as Aliens, but meer Enemies; And besides those Septs of Irish which were Termed the *Quinque familia* (who notwithstanding the great Priviledges they enjoyed by the Protection of the English Laws, ever shewed much averfeness both to the English and their Laws.) No other Persons of any Irish Families, from the very first Conquest of Ireland in the Time of Henry II. until the Reign of King Henry VIII. were admitted into Condition of Subjects, or received any Benefit by the English Laws, but such as purchased Charters of Denization. It was no Captial offence to kill any of them, the Law did neither protect their Life, nor Revenge their Death. And so they living upon the Mountains, in the Boggs and Woods, though at first after some sort divided from the English, did take all Occasions to declare their Malice and hatred against the English Colonies planted near unto them.

The Ancient Malice of the Irish to the English.

Quinque familia O. Neale de Ultonia. O. Malagblin de Melin. O. Connor de Conacia. O. Brien de Thomondia. Mac Morough de Lagenia.

But howsoever the English were in all Ages infested with their Irish Enemies, yet they were certainly in point of Interest and Universal Possession, Owners, and Proprietors of the whole Kingdom of Ireland. They kept themselves in entire Bodies almost for the first hundred Years after their Arrival, not suffering the Irish to live promiscuously among them, by which means they failed not to make good their Footing, and by a high Hand to keep them under in due Obedience and Subjection to the Crown of England. And when afterwards they began to be more careless of their Habitation, and to suffer the Irish to intermingle with them, and their English Fol-

By the Statutes made at Kilkenny by Lionel Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ire-

lowers,

land in the time of *Edw. 3d's Alliance by Marriage.* Nurture of Infants, and Gossiped with the Irish are High Treason. And if any English Man should use the Irish Language, Irish Name, or Irish Apparel, his Lands should be seiz'd, on, and if he had no Lands, he was to suffer Imprisonment. *Archiv. in castro Dublin, Statutes of Kilkenny.*

In that space of time which was between the 10th year of *Edw. 2.* and the 30th year of *Edw. 3.* all the Old English Colonies in *Munster*, *Conaught* and *Ulster*, and more than a Third part of *Leinster* became degenerate, and fell away from the Crown of *England*, so as the English Pale remained only lowers, to familiarize themselves into their Beastly Manners and Customs (for prevention of which mischief, many severe Laws were enacted in After-ages, yet for some time they made good the Rights and Possessions they had gotten by Conquest, and went on, endeavouring to civilize the People, introducing the English Laws, Language, Habit, and Customs long used among them. Now although these, and all other Courses were taken by them, which might reclaim such as seemed any ways inclinable to Civility, or would take out Charters of Denization; yet such ever was, and still is the rough rebellious Disposition of the People, their hatred so implacable, their Malice so unappeaseable to all the English Nation, as no Laws or gentle Constitutions would work, no publick Benefits temper, or any Tract of Time reconcile and draw them to any tolerable Patience of Cohabitation: But they have in all times continued to take all Advantages, as well since they were admitted into the Condition of Subjects, as while they were esteemed and treated as Enemies, most perfidiously to rise up and imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their English Neighbours: So as *Ireland* hath long remained a true *Aceldama*, a Field of Blood, an unsatiated Sepulcher of the English Nation. For what by Reason of their own intestine Broils, after they had (as soon they did, when they began to admit the intermixture of the Irish) most barbarously degenerated into all Manners and Customs; and what by reason of the cruel hatred and mischievous Attempts of the Irish upon them; We shall not find that the English from their first Access into *Ireland*, unto the Beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, (a Tract of Time containing above 380 Years) had any settled Peace or comfortable Subsistence, but were in most perpetual Combustions and Troubles, so extremely harassed and overworn with Misery, as they were not long likely to survive the Universal Calamity that had over-spread the Face of the whole Kingdom.

Whereupon that blessed Queen out of her pious Intentions, and good Affections to her People, applied her self with great Care to redress the Disorders of her Subjects in *Ireland*. And in the very Beginning of her Reign, sending over Prudent and Religious Governours, the Work of Reformation was much advanced, by many wholesome Laws Enacted against the barbarous Customs of the Irish; and the Execution of Justice, (which a long Time continued within the Limits of the Pale) began now to be extended into *Connaught*, *Ulster*, and other remote Parts of the Land at some intervals of quiet Times. The Irish Countries were reduced into Shires, and Sheriffs

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riffs with some Minsters of Justice placed in them: The pretended under the o-
 Captainships, and those high Powers usurped by the Irish, together bedience of
 with all the Extortions, and other fearful Exorbitancies incident to the Law.
 them, were now put into such a Way of Declination as they could The Royal
 not long continue. Seignories and Possessions were Settled in a due endeavours of
 Course of Inheritance; those most destructive Customs of * *Tanestry* for the redu-
 and *Gavelkind* began to be depressed; The two Presidential Courts of cing of Ire-
Munster and *Connaught* were then Instituted and special Order taken land.
 that Free-Schools might be Erected in the several Diocesses through-
 out the Kingdom, for the better Training up of Youth. But these
 Acts, and other Courses tending to the Advancement of true Reli-
 gion, Civility, were highly Displeasing, and most incompatible with
 the loose Humours of the Natives, who apprehended even the most
 gentle means of Reformation, as sharp Corroding Medicines; And
 thereupon pretending the Burthen of the English Government most
 insupportable, began desperately to struggle for their Liberty. *Non nulli ex*
 several Plots were laid, some even by those who were themselves of the *claris in La-*
 old English by Extraction: Divers Rebellions and petty Revolts *genia familiis*
 raised during Her Majesty's most happy Reign: That of *O Shan* *et plerique*
Neal, the Earl of *Desmond*, Viscount *Baltinglass*, *O Burke*, and se- *Anglica ori-*
 veral others at other Times, were all set on Foot for this very End, *ginis (partim*
 and all timely suppressed, partly by the Power of the Queens Forces, *ex Romana re-*
 partly by Her Gracious Favour in receiving the Chieftains to *ligionis studio*
 Mercy. And She, as most unwearied with their never ceasing Pro- *partim ex e-*
 vocations, still went on with all gentle Applications and Lenitives, *dio recenti-*
 for the withdrawing of the People from their Barbarous Customs: *um Anglo-*
rum, conspi-
rare ceperant
ad pro regem,

C

As

* The Lands belonging to the Irish, were divided into several Territories, and the
 Inhabitants in every Irish Country were divided into several Septs or Lineages— In every Irish
 Country there was a Lord or Chieftain, and a Tanist, which was his Successor apparent. None
 could be chosen Tanist, but one issued out of one of the chief Septs— The Seignory and Lands
 belonging to the chief Lord, did not descend from Father to Son, or upon default of Issue to him
 that was next of Kin: But he that was most active of greatest Power, and had most Followers,
 always caused himself to be chosen Tanist; and if he could not compass his desires by gentle
 means, then he used open force and violence; and so being declared as it were Heir apparent,
 came into possession upon the Death of the chief Lord— Now for the inferior Septs, they held
 their Lands at the will of the chief Lord, after a sort: For after the Death of every one of his
 Tenants which held any Land under him, he assembled the whole Septs, and having put all their
 Possessions together in hotch potch, made a new Partition among them, not assigning to the Son
 of him that died, the Land held by his Father, but altering every Man's Possession at his own
 pleasure, and according to his own Discretion: He, upon the Death of every inferior Tenant,
 made a general remove, and so allotted to every one of the Sept such part as he thought fit. And
 this was the Irish Gavelkind, *Sir John Davies Rep. Fol. 49.*

*eam familia
opprimendum
castrum Dub-
linense inter-
cipiendum, &
Anglos in
Hibernia ad
unum è medio
tollendos* Cam-
den. Eliz.

An. 22.

The Irish not
to be reclaim-
ed by gentle
means.

Tyrone's Rebel-
lion.

As several of the great Lords who had been out in Rebellion, were restored to to their Lands and Possessions, others she suffered to enjoy their Commands in the Country, upon others she bestowed new Titles of Honour. And being very unwilling to put the Kingdom of *England* to such an excessive Charge, as the full Conquest of *Ireland* would most necessarily require; no fair Means were left untried, that could minister any Hopes of civilizing the People, or settling the present Distraction of the Kingdom.

But all was in vain; the Matter then wrought upon was not susceptible of any such noble Forms, those Ways were heterogeneous, and had no Manner of Influence upon the perverse Dispositions of the *Irish*: The malignant Impressions of Irreligion and Barbarism, transmitted down, whether by Infusion from their Ancestors, or Natural Generation, had irrefragably stiffened their Necks, and hardened their Hearts against all the most powerful Endeavours of Reformation: They continued one and the same in all their wicked Customs and Inclinations, without Change in their Affections or Manners, having their Eyes enflamed, their Hearts enraged with Malice and Hatred against all the English Nation, breathing forth nothing but their Ruin, Destruction, and utter Extirpation.

And that they might at once dis-impester themselves of their unpleasing Company, and disburthen the whole Kingdom of them and their Posterity, they still entertained new Thoughts, and had now brought into Perfection a Design long meditated in their Breasts, whereby they resolved at once clearly to rescue and deliver themselves from their Subjection to the Crown of *England*. And this was that desperate Rebellion raised almost through the whole Kingdom, by *Hugh*, Earl of *Tyrone*, who after Titles of Honour, received a Command given by the Queen unto him both of Horse and Foot in her Pay, great Proportions of Land, and other Princely Favours conferred on him; Resolving at once to cancel all those Royal Obligations of Gratitude and Fidelity, broke out and drew along with him most of all the Irish Septs and Families, together with many degenerate *English* throughout the Kingdom, into rebellion against his most gracious undoubted Sovereign. And these all, as being universally actuated with the venomous Infusions of his malevolent Spirit, uniting their whole Interests and Forces into a firm Conjunction with him, raised all their Dependants, and moved in several Places according to the several Orders and Directions they received from him: And to fill up the full Measure of his Iniquity, he drew in a Foreign Nation at the same time with considerable Forces to invade the Land.

So

The IRISH Rebellion.

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So as the Queen now found by woful Experience, that *Ireland* was no longer to be dally'd with, one Rebellion still begot another, and this last was more dangerous than any of the former, it being more deeply rooted, more generally spread within the Kingdom, more powerfully fomented from without. She well discerned how much her great Clemency had been abused in suffering former Rebellions to be smothered over and loosely pieced up with Protections and Pardons; that the receiving of the *Irish* upon their Submissions, to avoid the Charge of a War, did inevitably redouble the Charge, and perpetuate the Miseries of a War: Therefore she now resolved no longer to trifle with them, but vigorously to set to the Work, and making choice of some of her Renowned English Commanders, committed to their Charge the Conduct of an Army Royal, compleatly armed, and well paid, wherewith they began the Prosecution of that Arch-Traytor *Tyrone*, and with great Success in a short time, though not without the Expence of much English Blood, and above a Million of Money, brought him upon his Knees. And howsoever before this glorious Work was fully accomplished, it pleased God to put a Period to her Days, yet lived she long enough to see just Vengeance brought down upon the Head of that Unnatural Disturber of the Peace of the Kingdom, himself in a manner wholly deserted, his Country most miserably wasted, and a general Desolation and Famine brought in, mightily consuming what was left undevoured by the Sword.

It is very easy to conjecture in what a most miserable Condition *Ireland* then was, the English Colonies being for the most part barbarously rooted out, the remainders degenerated into Irish Manners and Names, the very Irish themselves most mightily wasted and destroyed by the late Wars, and thereby much of the Kingdom depopulated, in every Place large Monuments of Calamity, and undisturbed continued Troubles. King *James*, of Blessed Memory, found it, at his first Accession to the Crown of *England*, in this deplorable State; whereupon he presently took into his Care the peaceable Settlement of *Ireland*, and civilizing of the People: And conceiving that the powerful Conjunction of *England* and *Scotland* would now overawe the *Irish*, and contain them in their due Obedience, He resolved not to take any advantage of those Forfeitures and great Confiscations which he was most justly intitled unto by *Tyrone's* Rebellion; but out of his Royal Bounty and Princely Magnificence, restored all the Natives to the entire Possession of their own Lands. A Work most munificent in itself, and such as he had reason to believe would for

The ill effects of the Submissions of the *Irish*.

The miserable condition of *Ireland*, when King *James* came to the Crown of *England*.

His Lenity towards the *Irish* Rebels, and his endeavours for a civil Reformation.

The IRISH Rebellion.

the time to come perpetually oblige their Obedience to the Crown of *England*. And in this State the Kingdom continued under some indifferent Terms of Peace and Tranquility, until the sixth Year of his Reign: Then did the Earl of *Tyrone* take up new Thoughts of Rising in Arms, and into his *Rebellious* Design he easily drew the whole Province of *Ulster*, then entirely at his Devotion; But his Plot failed; and he finding himself not able to get together any considerable Forces, he with the principal of his Adherents, quitted the Kingdom, fled into *Spain*, leaving some busie Incendiaries to foment those Beginnings he had laid for a new Rebellion in *Ireland*, and promising speedily to return well attended with Foreign Succours to their Aid: But by the great Blessing of Almighty God upon the wise Counsels of that King, and the careful Endeavours of his vigilant Ministers, the Distempers occasioned by the Noise of Commotion were soon allayed, and *Tyrone* never returning, the Peace of the Kingdom much confirmed and settled. King *James* hereupon being so justly provoked by the high Ingratitude of those *Rebellious* Traytors, caused their Persons to be attainted, their Lands to be seized, and those six Counties within the Province of *Ulster* which belonged to them, to be surveyed, and all (except some small Parts of them reserved to gratify the well-affected Natives) to be distributed in certain Proportions among *British* Undertakers, who came over and settled themselves, and many other *British* Families in those Parts: By this Means the Foundations of some good Towns, soon after encompassed with Stone-Walls, were presently laid, several Castles and Houses of Strength built in several Parts of the Country, great Numbers of *British* Inhabitants there settled, to the great Comfort and Security of the whole Kingdom. And the same Course was taken likewise for the better Assurance of the Peace of the Country, in the Plantation of several Parts of *Leinster*, where the *Irish* had made Incursions, and violently expelled the old *English* out of their Possessions. But howsoever the King was by due Course of Law justly intituled to all their whole Estates there; yet he was graciously pleased to take but one fourth Part of their Lands, which was deliver'd over likewise into the Hands of *British* Undertakers, who with great Cost and much Industry planted themselves so firmly as they became of great Security to the Country, and were a most special Means to introduce Civility in those Parts: So as now the whole Kingdom began exceedingly to flourish in costly Buildings, and all manner of Improvements; the People to multiply and increase, and the very *Irish* seem'd to be much satis-

satisfied with the Benefits of that peaceable Government, and general Tranquility which they so happily enjoyed.

And now of late such was the great Indulgence of King Charles our Sovereign that now Reigneth, to his Subjects of Ireland, as that in the Year 1640. upon their Complaints, and a general Remonstrance sent over unto him from both Houses of Parliament then sitting at Dublin, by a Committee of Four Temporal Lords of the upper House, and Twelve Members of the House of Commons, with Instructions to represent the heavy Pressures they had for some Time Suffered under the Government of the Earl of Strafford. He took their Grievances into his Royal Consideration, descended so far to their Satisfaction, as that he heard them Himself and made present Provisions for their Redress: And upon the Decease of Mr. Wandsford Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and then Lord Deputy here under the said Earl of Strafford, who still continued Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom (though then accused of High-Treason, and Imprisoned in the Tower of London, by the Parliament of England.) His Majesty sent a Commission of Government to the Lord Dillon of Kilkenny West, and Sir William Parsons Knight and Baronet, Master of the Wards in Ireland, yet soon after finding the Choice of the Lord Dillon, to be much disgusted by the Committee, He did at their Motion cause the said Commission to be Cancelled, and with their Consent and Approbation, placed the Government upon Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Borlace Knight, Master of the Ordinance, both esteemed Persons of great Integrity; and the Master of the Wards, by Reason of his long continued Employment in the State, his particular knowledge of the Kingdom, much valued and well beloved among the People. They took the Sword upon the 9th of February 1640. and in the first Place they applyed themselves with all manner of gentle Lenitives to Mollifie the sharp Humours raised by the Rigid passages in the former Government. They declared themselves against all such Proceedings lately used, as they found any ways varying from the Common Law: They gave all due Encouragement to the Parliament then sitting, to endeavour the reasonable Ease and Contentment of the People, freely Assenting to all such Acts as really tended to Legal Reformation: They betook themselves wholly to the Advice of the Council, and caused all Matters as well of the Crown, as Popular Interest, to be Handled in His Majesty's Courts of Justice, in no Ways admitting the late Exorbitancies (so bitterly decried in Parliament) of Paper-Petitions, or Bills, in Civil Causes, to be brought before them at the Council-board, or before any other by their

King Charles
great readi-
ness to redress
the grievan-
ces presented
unto him by
the Irish Com-
missioners,
1640.
The Lords.
L. Viscount
Gormanstone,
L. Viscount
Kilmaloc.
L. Viscount
Castelo,
L. Viscount
Baltinglass.
Commons.
Leinster.
Nic. Plunket,
Digby,
Richard Bith-
garret, Nic.
Barnewall,
Esqrs.
Munster.
Sir Hardress
Waller, Jo.
Welsh, Sir
Dounogh Mas-
Carty.
Conought.
Robert Linch,
Geffry Brown,
Thomas Burk.
Ulster.
Sir William
Cole, Sir
James Mon-
gomery.
Sir Will. Par-
sons and Sir
John Borlace,
made Lords
Justices.

They apply their Authority. They by His Majesty's gracious Directions gave a way to the Parliament to abate the Subsidies (there given in the Earl of *Strafford's* Time, and then in Collection) from 40000 *l.* each Subsidy, to 12000 *l.* apiece; so low did they think fit to Reduce them: And they were further Content (because they saw His Majesty most Absolutely Resolved to give the Irish Agents full Satisfaction;) To draw up Two Acts to be passed in the Parliament, most Impetuously desired by the Natives: The one was the Act of *Limitations*, which unquestionably Settled all Estates of Land in the Kingdom, quietly enjoyed without Claim or Interruption for the Space of Sixty Years immediately preceding; The other was for the *Relinquishment* of the Right and Title which His Majesty had to the Four Counties in *Connaught*, Legally found for him by several Inquisitions taken in them, and ready to be disposed of, upon a due Survey, to *British* undertakers; as also to some Territories of good Extent in *Munster*, and the County of *Clare*, upon the same Title.

Thus was the present Government most sweetly Tempered, and carried on with great Lenity and Moderation; the Lords Justices and Council wholly departing from the Rigour of former Courses, did gently unbend themselves into a happy and just Compliance with the Seasonable desires of the People. And His Majesty, that he might further testify His own Settled Resolution for the Continuation thereof with the same tender Hand over them, having first given full Satisfaction in all things to the said Committee of Parliament still attending their Dispatch, did about the latter End of *May*, 1641. de-

The Earl of *Leicester* declared Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, *May*, 1641. *Robert Earl of Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. He was Heir to Sir *Philip Sidney* his Uncle, as well as to Sir *Henry Sidney* his Grandfather, who with great Honour and much Integrity long continued chief Governour of *Ireland* during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and being a Person of Excellent Abilities by Nature, great Acquisitions from his own private Industry and publick Employment Abroad, of exceeding great Temper and Moderation, was never Engaged in any publick Pressures of the Common-wealth, and therefore most likely prove a just and gentle Governour; most pleasing and acceptable to the People.

The Papists permitted privately to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. Moreover, the Romish Catholicks now Privately enjoyed the Free Exercise of their Religion throughout the whole Kingdom, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. They had by the over great Indulgence of the late Governours, their Titular Arch-Bishops, Bishopt, Vicars-General, Provincial Consistories, Deans, Abbots, Priors, Nuns, who all lived freely, though somewhat Covertly among

mong them, and without Controul, Exercised a voluntary Jurisdiction over them, they had their Priests, Jesuits, and Fryars, who were of late Years exceedingly Multiplied, and in great numbers returned out of *Spain, Italy,* and other Foreign Parts; where the Children of the Natives of *Ireland* that way Devoted, were sent usually to Receive their Educations. And these without any manner of Restraint, had quietly settled themselves in all the Chief Towns, Villages, Noblemen and private Gentlemens Houses throughout the Kingdom. So as the private Exercise of all their Religious Rites and Ceremonies was freely enjoyed by them, without any manner of Disturbance, and not any of the Law put in Execution, whereby heavy Penalties were to be Inflicted upon Transgressors in that kind.

And for the ancient Animosities and Hatred which the Irish had been ever observed to bear unto the English Nation, they seemed now to be quite Deposited and Buried in a firm Conglutination of their Affections and National Obligations passed between them. The two Nations had now lived together forty years in Peace, with great Security and Comfort, which had in a manner Consolidated them into one Body, Knit and Compacted together with all those Bonds and Ligatures of Friendship, Alliance, and Consanguinity as might make up a Constant and Perpetual Union betwixt them. Their Intermarriages were frequent, gossiped, fostering (Relations of much Dearness among the *Irish*) together with all others of Tenancy, Neighbourhood, and Service interchangeably passed among them. Nay, they had made as it were a kind of mutual Transmigration into each others Manners, many *English* being strangely degenerated into *Irish* Affections and Customs, and many *Irish*, especially of the better Sort, having taken up the *English* Language, Apparel, and decent Manner of living in their private Houses. And so great an Advantage did they find by the *English* Commerce and Cohabitations in the Profits and high Improvements of their Lands and Native Commodities, so incomparably beyond what they ever formerly enjoy'd, or could expect to raise by their own proper Industry, as Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and many others of the prime Leaders in this Rebellion, had not long before turned their Irish Tenants off their Lands, as some of them said to me (when I enquired the Reason of their so doing) even to starve upon the Mountains, while they took in *English*, who were able to give them much greater Rents, and more certainly pay the same. A Matter that was much taken Notice of, and esteemed by many, as most highly conducing to the

the Security of the English Interests, and Plantation among them. So as all these Circumstances duly weighed, together with the Removal of the late Obstructions, the great Increase of Trade and many other evident Symptoms of a flourishing Common-wealth, it was believed even by the wisest and best experienced in the Affairs of *Ireland*, that the Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom was now fully settled, and most likely in all Human Probability to continue, without any considerable Interruption, in the present Felicity and great Prosperity it now enjoyed under the Government of His Majesty that now Reigneth.

The Parliament adjourned *August*, 1641.

The Irish Commissioners return out of *England*, and land at *Dublin*.

In *August*, 1641, the Lords Justices and Council finding the Popish Party in both Houses of Parliament to be grown to so great a height, as was scarcely compatible with the present Government, were very desirous to have an Adjournment made for three Months, which was readily assented unto, and performed by the Members of both Houses. And this was done not many Days before the Return of the Committee, formerly mentioned, out of *England*: They arrived at *Dublin* about the End of *August*, and presently after their Return applied themselves to the Lords Justices and Council, desiring to have all those Acts and other Graces, granted by His Majesty, made known unto the People by Proclamations, to be sent down into several Parts of the Country; which while the Lords Justices took into their Consideration, and sat daily composing of Acts to be passed the next Session of Parliament, for the Benefit of His Majesty, and the Good of his Subjects, they seemed with great Contentment and Satisfaction to retire into the Country to their several Habitations, that they might there refresh themselves in the mean Season,

The DISCOVERY of the Conspiracy of the Irish, to seize upon the Castle and City of DUBLIN; and their General Rising, at the same time, in all the Northern Parts of this Kingdom.

The happy condition of *Ireland* at the time of the breaking out of the Rebellion, *Octob.* 23. 1641.

SUCH was the now State and present Condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, such the great Serenity through the gentle and happy Transaction of the publick Affairs here; As that the late Irish Army raised for the Invasion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, being peaceably disbanded, their Arms and Munition, by the singular Care of the Lords Justices and Council, brought into His Majesty's Stores

Stores within the City of *Dublin*, there was no manner of Warlike Preparations, no Relicks of any kind of Disorders proceeding from the late Levies, nor indeed any Noise of War remaining with these Coasts. Now while in this great Calm the British continued in a most deep Security, under the Assurance of the Blessed Peace of this Land; while all things were carried on with great Temper and Moderation in the present Government, and all Men sat pleasantly enjoying the comfortable Fruits of their own Labours, without the least Thoughts or Apprehension of either Tumults or other Troubles, the Differences between His Majesty, and his Subjects of *Scotland*, being about this time fairly composed and settled: There broke out upon the 23d of *October*, 1641. a most desperate and formidable Rebellion, and universal Defection and general Revolt, wherein not only all the meer Irish, but almost all the old English that adhered to the Church of *Rome*, were totally involved. And because it will be necessary to leave some Monuments hereof to Posterity; I shall observe the Beginnings and first Motions, as well as trace out the Progress, of a Rebellion so execrable in itself, so odious to God and the whole World, as no Age, no Kingdom, no People can parallel the horrid Cruelties, the abominable Murders, that have been without Number, as well as without Mercy, committed upon the British Inhabitants throughout the Land, of what Sex or Age, or what Quality or Condition soever they were.

And first I must needs say, howsoever I have observed in the Nature of the *Irish* such a kind of dull and deep Reservedness, as makes them with much Silence and Secrecy to carry on their Business: Yet I cannot but consider with great Admiration how this mischievous Plot, which was to be so generally at the same time, and at so many several Places acted; and therefore necessarily known to so many several Persons, should without any Noise be brought to such Maturity, as to arrive at the very Point of Execution without any Notice or Intimation given to any two of that huge Multitude of Persons who were generally designed (as most of them did) to perish in it. For besides the uncertain Presumptions that Sir *William Cole* had of a Commotion to be raised by the *Irish* in the Province of *Ulster*, about a Fortnight before this Rebellion broke openly out, and some certain Intelligence which he received of the same two Days before the *Irish* rose. I could never hear that any Englishman received any certain Notice of this Conspiracy, before the very Evening that it was to be generally put in Execution. It is true, Sir *William Cole* upon the very first Apprehensions of something

The first plot for the rebellion carried on with so great secrecy, as none of the English had notice of it before it was ready to be put in execution.

that he conceived to be hatching among the *Irish*, did write a Letter to the Lords Justices and Council, dated the 11th of *October*, 1641. wherein he gave them Notice of the great Resort made to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, in the County of *Tyrone*, as also to the House of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, and that by several suspected Persons, fit Instruments for Mischief. As also that the said Lord *Mac-Guire* had of late made several Journies into the Pale, and other Places, and had spent his time much in writing Letters, and sending Dispatches abroad. These Letters were received by the Lords Justices and Council, and they in answer to them required him to be very vigilant and industrious to find out what should be the Occasion of those several Meetings, and speedily to advertise them thereof, or of any other Particular that he conceived might tend to the publick Service of the State. And for that which was revealed to Sir *William Cole* upon the 21st of *October*, the same Month, by *John Cormacke*, and *Flarty Mac-Hugh*, from *Brian Mac-Cohanaught*, *Mac-Guire*, touching the Resolutions of the *Irish*, to seize upon his Majesty's Castle and City of *Dublin*, to murder the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, and the rest of the Protestants there, and to seize upon all the Castles, Forts, Sea-Ports, and Holds, that were in Possession of the Protestants within the Kingdom of *Ireland*, I find by the Examination of *John Cormacke*, taken upon Oath at *Westminster*, November 18, 1644. That the said Sir *William Cole* did dispatch Letters to the Lords Justices and Council the same Day to give them Notice thereof. But I can also testify, that those Letters (whether they were intercepted, or that they otherways miscarried I cannot say) came not unto their Hands, as also that they had not any certain Notice of this general Conspiracy of the *Irish*, until the 22d of *October* in the very Evening before the Day appointed for the Surprize of the Castle and City of *Dublin*. Then the Conspirators, being many of them arrived in the City, and having that Day met at the *Lion Tavern*, near *Copper-Alley*, and there turning the Drawer out of the Room, ordered their Affairs together, drunk Healths upon their Knees to the happy Success of the next Mornings Work.

Owen O Conally, a Gentleman of a meer *Irish* Family, but one that had long lived among the *English*, and been trained up in the true Protestant Religion, came unto the Lord Justice *Parsons* about Nine of the Clock that Evening, and made him a broken Relation of a great Conspiracy for the seizing upon His Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*. He gave him the Names of some of the chief Conspirators, assured him, they were come up expressly to the Town for the same purpose,

Owen O Conally discovers the Conspiracy of the *Irish* to the Lord *Parsons* the very evening before it was to be executed.

purpose, and that next Morniug they would undoubtedly attempt, and surely effect it, if their Design was not speedily prevented, and that he had understood all this from *Hugh Mac-Mahon*, one of the chief Conspirators, who was then in the Town, and came up but the very same afternoon for the Execution of the Plot; and with whom indeed he had been drinking somewhat liberally, and as the Truth is, did then make such a broken Relation of a Matter that seemed so incredible in itself, as that his Lordship gave very little Belief to it at first, in regard it came from an obscure Person, and one as he conceived somewhat distempered at that time. But howsoever the Lord *Parsons* gave him order to go again to *Mac-Mahon*, and get out of him as much Certainty of the Plot, with as many particular Circumstances as he could, strictly charging him to return back unto him the same Evening. And in the mean time, having by strict Commands given to the Constable of the Castle, taken Order to have the Gates thereof well guarded, as also with the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City to have strong Watches set upon all the Parts of the same, and to make stay of all Strangers, he went privately about ten of the Clock that Night to the Lord *Borlace's* House without the Town, and there acquainted him with what he understood from *Conally*, they sent for such of the Council as they then to be in the Town. But there came only unto them that Night Sir *Thomas Rotheram*, and Sir *Robert Meredith*, Chancellour of the *Exchequer*, with these they fell into Consultation what was fit to be done, attending the Return of *Conally*. And finding that he staid somewhat longer then the time prefixed, they sent out in Search after him, and found him seized on by the Watch, and so had been carried away to Prison, and the Discovery that Night disappointed, had not one of the Lord *Parsons's* Servants, expressly sent among others to walk the Streets, and attend the Motion of the said *Conally*, came in, and rescued him, and brought him to the Lord *Borlace's* House. *Conally* having somewhat recovered himself from his Distemper, occasioned partly, as he said himself, by the Horror of the Plot revealed to him, partly by his too liberal drinking with *Mac-Mahon*, that he might the more easily get away from him (he beginning much to suspect and fear his discovering of the Plot) confirmed what he had formerly related, and added these farther Particulars set down in his Examination, as followeth.

The Examination of Owen O Conally Gentleman, taken before Us whose Names ensue, October 22. 1641.

WHo being duly Sworn, and Examined, saith, That he being at Monimore, in the County of London-Derry on Tuesday last, he received a Letter from Colonell Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon, desiring him to come to Connaught in the County of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wednesday and Thursday last, whereupon he, this Examinant came to Connaught, on Wednesday Night last, and finding the said Hugh came to Dublin, followed him hither: He came hither about Six of the Clock this Evening, and forthwith went to the Lodging of the said Hugh, to the House near the Boat in Oxman-Town, and there he found the said Hugh, and came with the said Hugh, into the Town, near the Pillory, to the Lodging of the Lord Mac-Guire, where they found not the Lord within, and there they Drank a Cup of Beer, and then went back again to the said Hugh, his Lodging. He saith, that at the Lord Mac-Guire his Lodging, the said Hugh told him that there were, and would be this Night great Numbers of Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the Irish Papists from all the Parts of the Kingdom in this Town, who with himself had determined to take the Castle of Dublin, and Possess themselves of all ~~His~~ Majesty's Ammunition there to Morrow Morning, being Saturday, and that they intended first to Batter the Chimlies of the said Town, and if the City would not yeild, then to Batter down the Houses, and so to cut off all the Protestants that would not joyn with them. He further saith, that the said Hugh then told him, that the Irish had prepared Men in all Parts of the Kingdom, to Destroy all the English Inhabiting there to Morrow Morning by Ten of the Clock, and that in all Sea-ports, and other Towns in the Kingdom, all the Protestants should be killed this Night, and that all the Posts that could be, could not prevent it: And further saith, that he moved the said Hugh to forbear Executing of that Business, and to Discover it to the State for the saving of his Own Estate, who said he could not help it. But said, that they did owe their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him all his Rights, but that they did this for the Tyrannical Government that was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who got a Priviledge by that Course. And he further saith, that when he was with the said Hugh in his Lodging the second Time, the said Hugh Swore that he should not go out of his Lodging that Night, but told him that he should go with him the next Morning to the Castle, and said if this Matter was Discovered, some Body should Die for it, whereupon

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whereupon this Examinant feigned some Necessity for his Easement, went down out of the Chamber, and left his Sword in Pawn, and the said Hugh sent his Man down with him, and when this Examinant came down into the Yard, and finding an Opportunity, he, this Examinant leaped over a Wall, and two Pales, and so came to the Lord Justice Parsons.

October 22. 1641.

William Parsons, Tho. Rotheram,
Rob. Meredith.

Owen O Conally.

Hereupon the Lords took present Order to have a Watch privately Set upon the Lodging of *Mac-Mahon*, as also upon the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and so they Sate up all that Night in Consultation, having far stronger Presumptions upon the latter Examination taken, than any Ways at first they could entertain. The Lords Justices upon a further Consideration, (there being come unto them Early next Morning several other of the Privy Council) sent before Day, and seized upon *Mac-Mahon*, then with his Servant in his own Lodging; they at first made some Resistance with their drawn Swords, but finding themselves over Mastered, presently yeilded, and so they were brought before the Lords Justices and Council, still Sitting in the Lord *Borlace's* House: Whereupon Examination he did without much Difficulty confess the Plot Resolutely, telling them, That on that very Day all the Forts and strong Places in *Ireland* would be taken, That he with the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Hugh Brian*, Captain *Brian O Neal*, and several other Irish Gentlemen, were come up expressly to Surprize the Castle of *Dublin*, That Twenty Men out of each County in the Kingdom were to be here to joyn with them, That all the Lords and Gentlemen in the Kingdom that were *Papists* were Engaged in this Plot, That what was that Day to be done in other Parts of the Country, was so far advanced by that Time, as it was Impossible for the Wit of Man, to prevent it; And withal told them, That it was True, they had him in their Power, and might use him how they pleased, but he was sure he should be Revenged. His Confession.

By this Time the Noise of this Conspiracy began to be Confusedly spread Abroad about the Town, and Advertisement was brought unto the Lords Justices then in Council, that great Numbers of Strangers had been Observed to come in the last Evening, and in the Morning Early into the Town, and most of them to Set up their Horses in the Suburbs? Whereupon the Lords having in the first Place

The Lord
Mac Guire,
with several
other of the
Conspirators
seized.

Place taken Order for the Apprehension of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, Removed themselves for their better Security unto the Castle, where the Body of the Council then in Town attended them at their Ordinary place of Meeting there. In the first place they caused a present Search to be made for all such Horses belonging to Strangers as were brought into any Inns, and by that means they Discovered some of the Owners, who were presently Seized upon and committed to the Castle of *Dublin*, having already delivered over to the Custody of the Constable there, the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and *Hugh Mac-Mahon*. *Hugh Brin*, and *Roger Moor*, Chief of the Conspirators,, Escaped over the River in the Night, Collonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, with several others found means likewise to Pass away undiscerned; and of the great Numbers which came up out of several Counties to be Actors in taking of the Castle and City of *Dublin*, there were not, thro' the Slack pursuit and great Negligence of the Inhabitants, above Thirty Seized upon, most of them Servants, and inconsiderable Persons, those of Quality having so many good Friends within the Town, as they had very ill Luck if apprehended. The same Day before the Lords Rose from Council, they took Order for this Proclamation which here followeth to be made and Published.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

W. Parsons. John Borlace.

THEse are to make known and publish to all His Majesty's good Subjects in this Kingdom of *Ireland*, that there is a Discovery made by Us the Lords Justices and Council, of a most disloyal and detestable Conspiracy intended by some evil-affected *Irish* Papists, against the lives of Us the Lords Justices and Council, and many other of His Majesty's faithful Subjects, Universally throughout this Kingdom, and for the Seizing not only of His Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, His Majesty's Principal Fort here, but also of the other Fortifications in the Kingdom: And seeing by the great goodness and abundant Mercy of Almighty God to His Majesty, and this State and Kingdom, those wicked Conspiracies are brought to light, and some of the Conspirators Committed to the Castle of *Dublin*, by Us, by His Majesty's Authority, so as those wicked and damnable Plots are now disappointed in the chief parts thereof; We therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publickly known, for the comfort of His Majesty's good and Loyal Subjects in all parts of the Kingdom,

Kingdom, but also hereby to require them, that they do with all Confidence and Chearfulness betake themselves to their own Defence and stand upon their Guard, so to render the more safety to themselves, and all the Kingdom besides, and that they advertise Us with all possible speed of all Occurents, which may concern the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, and now to shew fully that Faith and Loyalty, which they have always shown for the Publick Services of the Crown and Kingdom, which We will value to His Majesty accordingly, and special Memory therof will be Retained for their Advantage in due Time. And We require that great Care be taken that no Levies of Men be made for Foreign Service, nor any Men Suffered to March upon any such pretence. Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, October 23. 1641.

R. Dillon. Ro. Digby. Ad. Loftus. J. Temple. Tho. Rotheram.

Fr. Willoughby. J. Ware. Ro. Meredith.

God Save the King.

Printed at Dublin, by the Society of STATIONERS.

This Proclamation was presently Printed, and several Copies sent down by Express Messengers unto the Principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in several Parts of the Country, where they Caused them to be divers ways dispersed, hoping that when the timely Discovery of this Conspiracy, and the happy Prevention in a great Part, should fully appear Abroad, it would prove so great a Discouragment to such of the Conspirators as had not yet openly declared themselves, as that they would thereby be Contained within the Bounds of their Duty and Obediency to His Majesty. The same Night the Lord Blaney arrived with the News of the Surprisal of his House, his Wife and Children, by the Rebels of the County of Monaghan: Next Day came Advertisement from Sir Arthur Tyringham, of the taking of Newry; and then the sad Relations of Burning, Spoiling, and horrible Murders committed within the Province of Ulster, began to Multiply, and several Persons every Day and almost every Hour in every Day for a good while after, arrived like Job's Messengers, telling the Story of their own Sufferings, and the fearful Massacres of the poor English in those Parts for whence they came. These things wrought such a general Consternation and Astonishment in the Minds of all the English and other Inhabitants Well-affected within the City, as they were much Affrighted therewith, Expecting every Hour, when the Irish already Crept into the Town, joining with the

The Irish rise first in the Province of Ulster, and there burn, spoil, and destroy the English:

Papists

The IRISH Rebellion.

Papists there, should make the City a Theater whereon to Act the Second Part of that Tragedy most Bloodily begun in the Northern Parts by them.

False rumours spread of the Rebels approach to the City of Dublin.

And it added most Extreemly to these present fears, that several unhappy Rumours, (the great Tormentors of the weaker Sex) were vainly spread Abroad of the suddain approach of great Numbers of Rebels out of the Adjacent Irish Counties unto the City, some would make us believe that they were discerned at some Distance already Marching down from the Mountains Side within view of the Town; a Report so Credibly delivered by those who pretended to be Eye-Witnesses, that it drew some of the State up to the Platform of the Castle to behold those who were yet Invisible, though there were there, that would not be perswaded but that they saw the very Motion of the Men as they Marched down the Mountains. It was at the same Time also generally Noised Abroad that there were 10000 of the Rebels gotten together on the Hill of *Tarah*, a Place not above Sixteen Miles distant from the Town, and that they intended without any further delay to March on and presently Surprize the same. These false Rumours being unluckily spread, and by some Fomented out of Evil ends, exceedingly increased the present Distractions of the People, and Raised such a Panick fear among them, as about Seven of the Clock at Night, the Lords Justices and some of the Council being then in the Council-Chamber within the Castle, there came in to them a Gentleman of good Quality, who having not without much Difficulty as he pretended, recovered the Gate of the Castle; caused the Warders then attending to draw up the Bridge, assuring them that the Rebels gathered together in great Numbers, had already Possessed themselves of a good Part of the Town, and came now with great Fury Marching down the Street that leads directly towards the Castle Gate. But this fear was quickly removed by Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who being that Day made Governor of the Castle, caused the Draw-Bridge to be let down, and so found this to be a false Alarm occasioned by some mistake fallen among the People, who continued Waving up and down the Streets, prepossessed with strange fears, and some of them upon some slender accident drawing their Swords, others that knew not the cause thought fit to follow the Example, and so came to appear to this Gentleman who was none of their Company, as so many Rebels coming up to enter the Castle.

The Lords Justices and Council con-

These were the first Beginnings of our Sorrows, ill Symptoms, and sad Preparatives to the ensuing Evils: Therefore the Lords finding by several Intelligences, though some purposely Framed, that the Power

Power of the Rebels was suddenly Swollen up to so great a Bulk, and likely so fast to Multiply and Increase upon them, thought it high Time to consider of the Remedies, and in what Condition they were to oppose, since they could not prevent so imminent a Danger. The Rebellion now appeared without all manner of Question to be generally Raised in all Parts of the North, and like a Torrent to come down most Impetuously upon them : Besides, it was no ways improbable that all other Parts of the Kingdom would take Fire and follow their Example, they had the Testimony of *Mac-Mahon* positive therein. The first thing therefore which they took into Consideration, was, how they were provided of Money, Arms, and Munition; Then, what Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horse of the old Army they were able to draw up presently together, as also what Numbers of new Men they could suddenly Raise. For the first they had this short Account from the Vice-Treasurer, That there was no Money in the Exchequer, and certainly it was a main Policy in the first Contrivers of this Rebellion, to Plot the breaking of it out at such a Time when the Exchequer should be empty, and all the Kings Revenues both certain and casual, due for that half Year, as well as the Rents of all the *British* throughout the Kingdom, should be found ready either in the Tenants or Collectors Hands in the Country, and so Necessarily fall under their Power, as they did to their great Advantage. For Arms and Munition, the Stores were indifferently well furnished at this Time, besides several Pieces of Artillery.

sult what
course to take
for the sup-
pressing this
Rebellion.

No money in
the Exche-
quer.

A List of His Majesty's Army in Ireland, 1641. Before the Rebellion began.

Foot Companies consisting of Six Officers, viz. Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, Chyrurgeon, Serjeant and Drum, and Forty four Soldiers each Company.

L ord Lieutenants Guard — 44	Sir Robert Stewart — 44
Sir Robert Farrar — 44	Lord Viscount Ranelagh — 44
Sir Thomas Wharton — 44	Lord Viscount Baltinglafs — 44
Sir George Saint George — 44	Sir John Vaughan — 44
Capt. Francis Butler — 44	Capt. George Blount — 44
Sir William Saint Leger — 44	Sir Henry Tichburn — 44
Lord Docwra — 44	Sir Fredrick Hamilton — 44
Lord Blany — 44	Lord Castle-Stewart — 44

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Sir

The IRISH Rebellion.

Sir Lorenzo Cary	44	Capt. Robert Baily	44
Capt. Chichester Fortescus	44	Sir Arthur Loftus	44
Sir John Gifford	44	Capt. William Billingsly	44
Capt. John Barry	44	The Lord Esmond	44
Sir John Netterville	44	The Lord Lambert	44
Capt. Thomas Rockly	44	Sir George Hamilton	44
Sir Arthur Tyringham	44	Lord Folliot	44
Cap. Philip Wenman	44	Sir William Stewart	44
Capt. Charles Price	44	Capt. Robert Biron	44
Sir Charles Coot	44	Sir John Sherlock	44
Capt. Thomas Games	44	The Earl of Clanricard	44
Sir Francis Willoughby	44	Capt. John Ogle	44
Sir John Borlace	44		

These Companies contain Officers ————— 246 } In all } 2297.
Soldiers ————— 2051 }

Horse Troops.

THE Earl of Leicester Lord Lieutenant General, his Troop consisting of Captain Lieutenant, Cornet, and Horse-Men	180	dent of Munster, the like	58
The Earl of Ormond's Troop, like Officers, and Horse-Men	107	Lord Viscount Moor, the like	58
The Earl of Straffords Troop, like Officers, and Horse-Men	58	Lord Viscount Grandison, the like	58
Lord Dillons Troop, like Officers and Horse-Men	58	Lord Viscount Cromwel of Lecale, the like	58
Lord Wilmonts Troop, like Officers and Horse-Men	58	Captain Arthur Chichester, the like	58
Sir Will. Saint-Leger, Lord Presi-		Sir George Wentworth, the like	58
		Sir John Borlace, the like	58
		Lord Viscount Conway, the like	58
		Sir Adam Loftus the like	58

These Troops contain Officers ————— 42 } In all } 943.
Horse-Men ————— 901 }

These were so strangely dispersed most of them into the remote Parts of the Kingdom, for the Guard of several Forts and other Places, as it fell out to be in a manner most impossible to draw a considerable Number of them together in any time, either for the Defence of the City, or the making Head against the Rebels in the North :

The IRISH Rebellion.

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North : And besides, it was much to be suspected, the Companies lying severally so remote, and ill furnished with Munition, could with little Safety march to *Dublin*. Yet the Lords sent Patents presently away to require several Companies of Foot, and some Troops of Horse presently to rise and march up from their several Garrisons towards the City of *Dublin*. And now it was held high time to give an Account unto his Majesty then at *Edinburgh* in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and to the Lord Lieutenant continuing still at *London* (the Parliament still sitting there) of the breaking out of this Rebellion, the ill Condition of the Kingdom, the Wants of the State, and the Supplies absolutely necessary for their present Defence and Preservation. And because the Letter to the Lord Lieutenant doth most clearly represent several Particulars which may conduce to the Knowledge of the Affairs, I have thought fit to insert a true Copy of it, which here followeth.

Letters from
the Lords Ju-
stices and
Council to
the Lord
Lieutenant,

May it please Your Lordship,

ON Friday the Two and Twentieth of this Month, after Nine of the Clock at Night, this Bearer *Owen Conally*, Servant to Sir *John Clotworthy* Knight, came to me the Lord Justice *Parsons* to my House, and in great Secrecy (as indeed the Cause did require) discovered unto me a most wicked and damnable Conspiracy, plotted, contrived, and intended to be also acted by some evil-affected *Irish* Papists here. The Plot was on the then Morning, *Saturday* the 23d of *October*, being *St. Ignatius's* Day, about Nine of the Clock to surprize His Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, His Majesty's chief Strength of this Kingdom, wherein also is the principal Magazines of His Majesty's Arms and Munition, and it was agreed it seems amongst them, that at the same Hour all other his Majesty's Forts and Magazines of Arms and Munition in this Kingdom, should be surprized by others of those Conspirators, and further, that all the Protestants and *English* throughout the whole Kingdom, that would not joyn with them, should be cut off, and so those Papists should then become possessed of the Government and Kingdom at the same instant.

As soon as I had that Intelligence, I then immediately repaired to the Lord Justice *Borlace*, and thereupon We instantly assembled the Council, and having sate all that Night, as also all the next Day, the 23d of *October*, in regard of the short time left us for the Consultation of so great and weighty a Matter, although it was not possible for us upon so few Hours Warning to prevent those

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‘ those other great Mischiefs which were to be acted, even at that
 ‘ same Hour, and at so great a Distance as in all the other Parts of
 ‘ the Kingdom. Yet such was our Industry therein, having caused
 ‘ the Castle to be that Night strengthned with armed Men, and the
 ‘ City guarded, as the wicked Counsels of those evil Persons, by
 ‘ the great Mercy of God to us, became defeated, so as they were
 ‘ not able to act that Part of their Treachery, which indeed was
 ‘ principal, and which, if they could have effected, would have
 ‘ rendred the rest of their Purposes the more easy.

‘ Having so secured the Castle, We forthwith laid about for the
 ‘ apprehension of as many of the Offenders as We could, many of
 ‘ them having come to this City but that Night, intending it seems
 ‘ to act their Parts in those treacherous and bloody Crimes.

‘ The first Man apprehended was one *Hugh Mac-Mahon*, Esquire,
 ‘ (Grandson to the Traytor *Tyrone*) a Gentleman of good Fortune
 ‘ in the County of *Monaghan*, who with others, was taken that
 ‘ Morning in *Dublin*, having at the time of their Apprehension of-
 ‘ fered a little Resistance with their Swords drawn, but finding
 ‘ those We imployed against them more in Number, and better arm-
 ‘ ed, yielded. He upon his Examination before us at first denyed
 ‘ all, but in the end, when he saw we laid it home to him, he con-
 ‘ fessed enough to destroy himself, and impeach some others, as by
 ‘ a Copy of his Examination herewith sent, may appear to Your
 ‘ Lordship, We then committed until We might have further time
 ‘ to examine him again, our time being become more needful to be
 ‘ imployed in Action for securing this Place, than in examining.
 ‘ This *Mac-Mahon* had been abroad, and served the King of *Spain*
 ‘ as a Lieutenant-Colonel.

‘ Upon Conference with him and others, and calling to mind a
 ‘ Letter We received the Week before from Sir *William Cole*, a Copy
 ‘ whereof we send your Lordship here inclosed, We gathered that
 ‘ the Lord *Mac-Guire* was to be an Actor in surprizing the Castle of
 ‘ *Dublin*, wherefore We held it necessary to secure him immediat-
 ‘ ly, thereby also to startle and deter the rest, when they found
 ‘ him laid fast. His Lordship observing what we had done, and
 ‘ the City in Arms, fled from his Lodging early before Day, it
 ‘ seems disguised, for we had laid a Watch about his Lodging, so as
 ‘ we think he could not pass without disguising himself, yet he could
 ‘ not get forth of the City, so surely guarded were all the Gates.

There were found at his Lodging hidden some Hatchets, with
 ‘ the Helves newly cut off close to the Hatchets, and many Skeans,
 ‘ and some Hammers.

In

‘ In the end the Sheriffs of the City, whom we imployed in strict Search of his Lordship, found him hidden in a Cockloft, in an obscure House far from his Lodging, where they apprehended him and brought him before Us.

‘ He denied all, yet so, as he could not deny but he heard of it in the Country, though he would not tell us when, or from whom ; and confessed that he had not advertised Us thereof, as in Duty he ought to have done. But We were so well satisfied of his Guiltiness by all Circumstances, as We doubted not upon further Examination when We could be able to spare time for it to find it most apparent : Wherefore We held it of absolute Necessity to commit him close Prisoner, as we had formerly done *Mac-Mahon* and others ; where We left him on the three and twentieth of this Month, in the Morning, about the same Hour they intended to have been Masters of that Place, and this City.

‘ That Morning also We laid wait for all those Strangers that came the Night before to Town, and so many were apprehended whom We believe to have hands in this Conspiracy, as We were forced to disperse them into several Goals : And we since found that there came many Horsemen into the Suburbs that Night, who finding the Plot discovered, dispersed themselves immediately.

‘ When the Hour approached, which was designed for surprising the Castle, great Numbers of Strangers were observed to come to Town in great Parties several ways ; who not finding admittance at the Gates, staid in the Suburbs, and there grew numerous, to the Terror of the Inhabitants. We therefore to help that, drew up instantly and signed a Proclamation, commanding all Men, not Dwellers in the City and Suburbs, to depart within an Hour, upon Pain of Death, and made it like penal to those that should harbour them ; which Proclamation the Sheriffs immediately proclaimed in all the Suburbs by Our Commandment ; which being accompanied with the Example and Terror of the Committal of those two Eminent Men, and others, occasioned the Departure of those Multitudes : And in this Case, all our Lives and Fortunes, and above all, His Majesty's Power and Regal Authority being still at the Stake, We must vary from the ordinary Proceedings, not only in executing Martial Law as We see cause, but also in putting some to the Rack to find out the bottom of this Treason, and all the Contrivers thereof, which we foresee will not otherwise be done.

‘ On

The IRISH Rebellion.

‘ On the 23d Day of this Month, We conceiving that as soon as it should be known that the Plot for seizing *Dublin* Castle was disappointed, all the Conspirators in the remote Parts might be somewhat disheartned, as on the the other side the good Subjects would be comforted, and would then with the more Confidence stand on their Guard ; did prepare to send abroad to all Parts of the Kingdom this Proclamation which we send you here inclosed : And so having provided that the City and Castle should be so guarded as upon the sudden we could promise, We concluded that long continued Consultation.

‘ On *Saturday* at twelve of the Clock at Night the Lord *Blany* came to Town and brought Us the ill News of the Rebels seizing with two Hundred Men, his House at *Castle-Blany* in the County of *Monaghan*, and his Wife, Children and Servants, as also a House of the Earl of *Essex* called *Carrickmacross* with two Hundred Men and a House of Sir *Henry Spotwood* in the same County, with two Hundred Men, where there being a little Plantation of *British*, they Plundered the Town and burnt divers Houses, and it since appears that they burnt divers other Villages ; and Robbed and Spoiled many *English*, and none but Protestants ; leaving the *English* Papists untouched as well as the *Irish*.

‘ On *Sunday* Morning at three of the Clock, We had Intelligence from Sir *Arthur Tyringham*, that the *Irish* in the Town had that Day also broken up the Kings Store of Arms and Munition at the *Newry*, where the Store of Arms hath lien ever since the Peace, and where they found fourscore and ten Barrels of Powder, and Armed themselves, and put them under the Command of Sir *Con. Magennis*, Knight, and one *Creely* a Monk, and Plundered the *English* there and Disarmed the Garison. And this, though too much, is all that We yet hear is done by them.

‘ However We shall stand on our Guard the best We may to Defend the Castle and City Principally, those being the Pieces of most Importance. But if the Conspiracy be so Universal as *MacMahon* saith in his Examination it is, namely, That all the Counties in the Kingdom have Conspired in it, which we admire should so fall out in this time of Universal Peace, and carried with that Secrecy, that none of the *English* could have any Friend amongst them to disclose it, then indeed we shall be in high Extremity, and the Kingdom in the greatest Danger that ever it underwent, considering our want of Men, Money, and Arms, to enable Us to encounter so great Multitudes as they can make, if all should

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‘ should joyn against Us, the rather, because we have pregnant cause to doubt that the Combination hath taken Force by the Incitement of Jesuits, Priests and Fryars.

‘ All the hope we have here, is the Old *English* of the *Pale*, and some other parts, will continue Constant to the King, in their Fidelity, as they did in former Rebellions.

‘ And now in these Straits, we must under God depend on Aid from *England* for our present Supply with all Speed, especially Money, we having none, and Arms which we shall exceedingly want; without which, we are very doubtful what account we shall give to the King of his Kingdom.

‘ But if the Conspiracy be only of *Mac-Guire* and some other *Irish* of the kindred and friends of the Rebel *Tyrone* and other *Irish* in the Counties of *Down*, *Monaghan*, *Cavan*, *Fermanagh* and *Armagh*, and no general Revolt following thereupon, we hope then to make head against them in a reasonable Measure, if we be enabled with Money from thence, without which we can raise no Forces, so great is our want of Money, as we have formerly written, and our Debt so great to the Army; nor is Money to be Borrowed here, and if it were, we would engage all our Estates for it: Neither have we any hope to get in his Majesty’s Rents and Subsidies in these Disturbances, which add extreamly to our Necessities.

‘ On *Sunday* Morning the 24th. We met again in Council, and sent to all Parts of the Kingdom the enclosed Proclamation, and issued Patents to draw hither seven Horse-Troops as a farther Strength to this Place, and to be with Us in Case the Rebels shall make Head and March hitherward, so as we may be necessitated to give them Battle. We also then sent away our Letters to the President of both the Provinces of *Munster* and *Connaught*: And we likewise then sent Letters to the Sheriffs of the Five Counties of the *Pale*, to Consult of the best way and means of their own Preservation. That Day the Lord Vice-Count *Gormanstown*, the Lord Vice-Count *Netterville*, the Lord Vice-Count *Fitz-Williams*, and the Lord of *Howth*, and since the Earls of *Kildare* and *Fingal*, and the Lords of *Dunsany*, and *Slane*, all Noblemen of the *English Pale* came unto us, declaring that they then and not before heard of the matter, and professed Loyalty to his Majesty, and Concurrency with the State, but said they wanted Arms, whereof they desired to be supplied by us, which we told them we would willingly do, as relying much on their Faithfulness to the Crown but we were not yet certain whether or no we had enough to Arm

our

our Strength for the Guard of the City and Castle ; yet we supplied such of them as lay in most danger, with a small Proportion of Arms and Munition for their Houses, lest they should conceive we apprehended any Jealousie of them. And we commanded them to be very diligent in sending out Watches and making all the Discoveries they could, and thereof to advertise us, which they readily promised to do.

And if it fall out that the *Irish* generally Rise, which we have cause to suspect, then we must of Necessity put Arms into the hands of the *English Pale* in present, and to others as fast as we can, to Fight for Defence of the State and themselves.

Your Lordship now sees the Condition wherein we stand, and how necessary it is, first, that we enjoy your Presence speedily, for the better guiding of those and other the Publick Affairs of the King and Kingdom. And secondly, that the Parliament there, be moved immediately to advance to us a good Sum of Money, which being now speedily sent hither, may prevent the Expence of very much Treasure and Blood in a long continued War. And if your Lordship shall happen to stay on that side any longer time ; we must then desire your Lordship to appoint a Lieutenant-General to discharge the great and weighty Burthen of commanding the Forces here.

Amidst these Confusions and Discords fallen upon Us, We be thought Us of the Parliament, which was formerly Adjourned to *November* next, and the Term now also at hand, which will draw such a Concourse of People hither, and give Opportunity under that Pretence, assembling and taking new Councils, seeing the former seems to be in some part disappointed, and of contriving further Danger to this State and People : We have therefore found it of unavoidable Necessity to Prorogue it accordingly, and to direct the Term to be Adjourned to the first of *Hillary* Term, excepting only the Court of *Exchequer* for hastening in the King's Money, if it be possible. We desire upon this Occasion Your Lordship will be pleased to view our Letters concerning the Plantation of *Connaught*, dated the 24th of *April* last, directed to Mr. Secretary *Vane* in that Part thereof, which concerns the County of *Monaghan*, where now these Fires do first brake out.

In the last Place we must make known to Your Lordship, that the Army we have, consisting but of 2000 Foot and 1000 Horse, are so dispersed in Garrisons in several Parts, as continually they have been since they were so reduced, as if they be all sent for to be
drawn

drawn together, not only the Places whence they are to be drawn, (and for whose Safety they lie there) must be by Absence distressed, but also the Companies themselves coming in so small Numbers may be in Danger to be cut off in their March; nor indeed have we any Money to pay the Soldiers to enable them to march. And so we take leave and remain from His Majesty's Castle of Dublin the 25th of October, 1641.

Your Lordships to be commanded,

William Parsons. John Borlace.

Richard Bolton, Can. R. Dillon, Anthony Midenshis, John Raphoe, R. Digby, Ad. Loftus, Ger. Lowther, John Temple, Tho. Rotheram, Fran. Willoughby, Ja. Ware, G. Wentworth, Robert Meredith.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE said Owen Conally, who revealed the Conspiracy is worthy of very great Consideration, to recompence that Faith and Loyalty which he hath so extreamly to his own Danger expressed in this Business; whereby under God there is yet Hopes left us of Deliverance of this State and Kingdom, from the wicked Purposes of those Conspirators. And therefore we beseech Your Lordship that it be taken into Consideration there, so as he may have a Mark of His Majesty's most Royal Bounty which may largely extend to Him and His Posterity, we not being now able to do it for him.

W. Parsons.

To the Right Honourable our very good Lord Robert Earl of Leiceſter, L. Lieutenant Gen. and General Governor of the Kingdom of Ireland.

The dispatch sent to His Majesty was addressed to Sir Henry Vane, Principal Secretary, and carried by Sir Henry Spotswood, who went by Sea directly into Scotland: And the Letters to the Lord Lieutenant were sent to London by Owen O Conally, the first Discoverer of the Plot.

The Lords now with all the Care and Diligence applied their further Endeavours towards the preventing as much as possible, the Destruction intended against all the British Inhabitants of the Kingdom, as well as the Security of the City and the Places round about it. A Work of large extent, and wherein they met with many Difficulties, by Reason of their own wants both of Men and Money. They having formerly sent away and dispersed the Proclamations into several Parts of the Country, now sent Letters by Express Messengers

The Lords Justices cause the Proclamations to be dispers'd, Letters to be written, and other means to be used for

F

unto

the prevention of the rising of the Irish in the North, but all to no purpose.

The Lords of the English Pale repair to the Council-board, and there declare their Loyal Affections to his Majesty.

The English Pale is a large Circuit of Land possessed at the time of the first Conquest of Ireland by the English, and ever since inhabited by them; it contains several Counties, viz. the Counties of Dublin, Meath, Lowth, Kildare, &c.

unto the Presidents of *Munster* and *Connaught*, and to several principal Gentlemen in those Two Provinces; as also to others within the Province of *Leinster*, giving them Notice of the Discovery of the Plot, and advising them to stand upon their Guard, and to make the best Provision they could for the defence of the Country about them. They sent another Express to the Earl of *Ormonde*, then at his House at *Carick*, with Letters to the same Effect; and withal desired his Lordship presently to repair unto them at *Dublin*, with his Troop of Horse. They sent likewise Commissions to the Lords Viscounts of *Clandeboys*, and of the *Ardes*, for raising of the *Scots*, in the Northern Parts, and putting them into Arms, as they did also to Sir *William Stewart*, Sir *Robert Stewart*, and other Gentlemen of Quality in the North. And as they gave them Orders for prosecution of the Rebels with Fire and Sword, so they gave them Power to receive such of them in as should Submit to his Majesty's Grace and Mercy. But these dispatches they were enforced to send all by Sea, the Rebels having stopped up the Passages, and hindered all manner of intercourse with that Province by Land.

The Lords of the *Pale* having been at the Council Board, and there declared to the Lords Justices, with great Protestations, their Loyal affections unto His Majesty; together with their readiness and forward Concurrence with their Lordships in this Service, came unto them again within Two or Three Days after with a Petition; wherein they offered unto their Lordships, the deep Sense they had of an Expression in the late Proclamation, set out upon the Discovery of this great Conspiracy intended, as it is there set down, *By some evil affected Irish Papists*, which Words they feared might be by some mis-interpreted, and such a Construction put upon them, as might reflect upon their Persons, as comprehended under them. Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council thought fit to descend so far to their Satisfaction, as not only to Remonstrate the Clearness of their intentions towards them, but that it might appear unto the World, they Entertained not the least jealous Thoughts of them, they caused a new Proclamation to be set out by way of Explanation of the former, which I have thought fit here to insert, that it may appear how far they were from giving any of those Lords and Gentlemen occasion to break out into those Rebellious courses, they soon afterwards took to their own Destruction.

By

By the Lords Justices and Council.

W. Parsons. John Borlace.

W Hereas a Petition hath been perferred unto Us by divers Lords and Gentlemen of the English Pale, in behalf of themselves and the Rest of the Pale, and others the old English, of this Kingdom, shewing that whereas a late Conspiracy of Treason is discovered of ill affected Persons of the old Irish, and that thereupon a Proclamation was Published by Us; wherein among other Things, it is declared that the said Conspiracy was perpetrated by Irish Papiests without Distinction of any; And they doubting that by those general Words of Irish Papiests, They might seem to be Involved, though they declare themselves Confident that We did not intend to conclude them therein, in regard they are none of the old Irish, nor of their Faction, or Confederacy; but altogether averse and opposite to all their Designs, and all other of like Condition; We do therefore to give them full Satisfaction, hereby Declare and Publish to all His Majesty's good Subjects in this Kingdom, That by the Words, Irish Papiests, We intended only such of the old meer Irish in the Province of Ulster, as have Plotted, contrived, and been Actors in this Treason, and others who Adhere to them; and that We did not any Way intend, or mean thereby any of the old English of the Pale, nor of any other Parts of this Kingdom, We being well assured of their Fidelities to the Crown, and having Experience of the good Affection and Services of their Ancestors in former Times of Danger and Rebellion. And We further Require all His Majesty's loving Subjects, whether Protestants or Papiests, to forbear upbraiding Matter of Religion, one against the other, and that upon pain of His Majesty's indignation. Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, 29th of October, 1641.

A Proclamation issued for the satisfaction of the Lords and Gentlemen of the English Pale.

R. Ranelagh, R. Dillon, Ant. Midenfis, Ad. Loftus, Geo. Shurly, Gerrard Lowther, J. Temple, Fr. Willoughby, Ja. Ware.

God Save the King.

Printed at Dublin, by the Society of STATIONERS.

But to return now to the Northern Rebels, who so closely pursued on their first Plot, as they Beginning to put it in Execution in most of the Chief places of Strength there, upon the 23 of October, the Day appointed for the Surprizal of the Castle of Dublin, had by the latter

The greater
part of *Ulster*
possessed by
the Northern
Rebels.

The Names
of the chief
Rebels in
Ulster.

Several Forts,
and other pla-
ces suddenly
surprized by
the Rebels.

latter End of the same Month gotten into their Possession all the Towns, Forts, Castles, Gentlemens Houses within the Counties of *Tyron, Dungal, Fermanagh, Armagh, Cavan, London-Derry, Monaghan*, and half the County of *Down*, excepting the Cities of *London-Derry* and *Colerain*, the Town and Castle of *Inniskillen*, and some other Places and Castles which were for the present gallantly defended by the *British* Undertakers, though afterwards for want of relief Surrendred to their Hands. The Chief of the Northern Rebels that first appeared in the Execution of this Plot within the Province of *Ulster*, were *Sir Phelim O Neal, Turlough O Neal*, his Brother, *Raury Mac-Guire* Brother to the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, *Mulmore O Rely*, *Sir Con. Mac-Gennis*, *Col. Mac-Brian*, *Mac-Mahon*, These having closely combined together with several other of their Accomplices, the Chief of the several Septs in the several Counties divided their Forces into several Parties; and according to a general Assignment made among themselves at one and the same Time Surprized by Treachery the Town and Castle of the *Newry*, the Fort of *Donganannon*, Fort *Montjoy*, *Charlemont*, *Tonrages Carrick-Mac-Rosse*, *Cloughcuter*, *Castle Blany*, *Castle of Monaghan*; being all of them Places of considerable Strength, and in several of them Companies of Foot, or Troops of Horse belonging to the Standing Army, Besides these they took a Multitude of other Castles, Houses of Strength, Towns, and Villages, all abundantly Peopled with *British* Inhabitants, who had exceedingly enriched the Country as well as themselves by their painful Labours. They had made for their more comfortable Subsistence, Handsome and Pleasant Habitations, abounding with Corn, Cattel, and all other Commodities that an industrious People could draw out of a good In-Land Soil. They lived in great Plenty, and some of them very well stored with Plate and ready Money. They lived likewise in a great Security, being quiet and careless, as the People of *Laisb*, little suspecting any Treachery from their *Irish* Neighbours. The *English* well knew they had given them no manner of Provocation; they had Entertained them with great Demonstrations of Love and Affection. No Story can ever shew that in any Age since their Intermixed Cohabitation, they Rose up so secretly to do them Mischief.

And now of late they lived so Peaceably and Lovingly together as they had just reason most confidently to believe, that the *Irish* would never upon any occasion generally Rise up again to their Destruction. This I take to be one main and principal Reason that the *English* were so easily over-run within the Northern Counties, and so sudden-ly

ly swallowed up, before they could make any manner of Resistance in the very first beginnings of this Rebellion. For most of the *English* having either *Irish* Tenants, Servants, or Landlords, and all of them *Irish* Neighbours their Familiar Friends: As soon as the fire broke out, and the whole Country began to rise about them, some made their Recourse presently to their Friends for Protection, some relying upon their Neighbours, others upon their Landlords, others upon their Tenants and Servants for Preservation, or at least, present Safety; and with great Confidence put their Lives, their Wives, their Children, and all they had, into their Power. But these generally either Betrayed them into the Hands of other Rebels, or most Perfidiously Destroyed them with their own Hands. The Priests had now Charmed the *Irish*, and laid such Bloody Impressions in them, as it was held according to the Maxims they had Received, a mortal Sin to give any manner of Relief or Protection, to any of the *English*. All Bonds and Ties of Faith and Friendship were now broken; the *Irish* Landlords made a Prey of their *English* Tenants, *Irish* Tenants and Servants a Sacrifice of their *English* Landlords and Masters, one Neighbour cruelly Murthered by another; the very *Irish* Children in the very beginning fell to strip and kill *English* Children: All other Relations were quite Cancelled and laid aside, and it was now esteemed a most Meritorious work in any of them that could by any Means or Ways whatsoever, bring an *Englishman* to the Slaughter. A work not very difficult to be compassed as things then stood; for they living promiscuously among the *British*, in all parts having from their Priests received the Watch-word both for Time and Place, Rose up, as it were actuated by one and the same Spirit, in all Places of those Counties before mentioned at one and the same point of Time; and so in a Moment fell upon them, Murdering some, Stripping only, or Expelling others out of their Habitations. This bred such a general Terror and Astonishment among the *English* as they knew not what to think, much less what to do, or which way to turn themselves. Their Servants were killed as they were Ploughing in the Fields, Husbands Cut to Pieces in the presence of their Wives, their Childrens Brains dashed out before their Faces, others had all their Goods and Cattel Seized and carried away, their Houses burnt, their Habitations laid waste, and all as it were at an instant before they could suspect the *Irish* for their Enemies, or any ways imagine that they had it in their Hearts, or in their Power, to offer so great Violence, or do such Mischief unto them.

The great security and confidence of the *English* in the *Irish*, a great cause of their sudden Destruction.

The *English* Betrayed and Murdered by their *Irish* Friends, Servants, and Tenants.

The Intermixture of the *English* among the *Irish*, a main cause of their sudden Destruction.

Now.

The Irish falsified their Oaths and Protestations to the English, and after Quarter given them in several Places Murder and Destroy them.

Several Policies used by the Irish to prevent the English from rising against, or the Scots to joyn in their defence.

Now for such of the *English* as stood upon their Guard, and had gathered together, though but in small Numbers, the *Irish* had recourse to their ancient Stratagems, which as they have formerly, so they still continued to make frequent Use of this Rebellion. And that was fairly to offer unto them good Conditions of Quarter, to assure them their Lives; their Goods, and free Passage, with a safe Conduct into what Place soever they pleased, and to confirm these Covenants sometimes under their Hands and Seals, sometimes with deep Oaths and Protestations; and then as soon as they had them in their Power, to hold themselves disobliged from their Promises, and to leave their Soldiers at liberty to despoil, strip and murder them at their pleasure. Thus were the poor *English* treated, who had shut themselves up in the great Cathedral Church of *Armagh* by Sir *Phe-lim O Neal*, and his Brother *Turlogh*. Thus were such of the *English* used by *Philip O Rely*, who had retired themselves to *Belturbet*, the best planted Town in the County of *Cavan*. And after the same barbarous manner were such of the *English* drawn out to the Slaughter, as had gotten into the Castles of *Longford*, the Castle of *Tullogh* in the County of *Fermanagh*, or the Church of *Newtown* in the same County, and several other Places; as appears by several Examinations taken upon Oath, from Persons that hardly escap'd with their Lives. And besides these other Policies they used, some to distract and discourage them, others to dis-inable them to stand out to make any Defence. As in several Places the *Irish* came under divers Pretences, and borrowed such Weapons and Arms as the *English* had in their Houses; and no sooner got them into their Hands, but they turned them out of their own Doors, as they did at *Glassough* in the County of *Monaghan*: And by the same means they very gently and fairly got into their Possession all the *English* Arms in the County of *Cavan*: The High Sheriff there being an Irishman and a Papist, pretending that he took their Arms to secure them only against the violence of such of the *Irish* as he understood to be in Arms in the next County. And that they might the more easily effect the Destruction of the *English*, and keep off the *Scots* from giving them any assistance; they openly professed to spare, as really they did at the first, all of the *Scotish* Nation; and pretended they would suffer them, as likewise all *English* Papists, to live quietly among them; hoping thereby to contain all of that Nation from taking up Arms, 'till they had mastered all the *English*, and that then they should be well enough enabled to deal with them. Thus were the poor *English* prepared for the Slaughter, and so exceedingly

ly distracted with the tumultuous rising of the *Irish* on all sides about them, as they could never put themselves into any Posture of Defence. And although in many Places they made small Parties, and betook themselves into several Churches and Castles, some of which were most gallantly long defended by them, yet did they not draw together in any such considerable Body, as would enable them to make good their Party in the Field, against the numerous Forces of the Rebels. The Truth is, they did not very readily endeavour, or dexterously attempt it in any part of that Province, as I could hear of; every Man betaking himself the best he could to the care of his own House, and seeking how to save his own Family, his Goods within, and his Cattel without. And so while they kept singly apart, and singly stood up for their own private Preservation, not joining their Forces together for the common Safety, they gave the Rebels a fair Opportunity, and a singular Advantage, to work out with great facility their common Destruction. Whereas, if they had deserted their Houses upon the first Notice of the Rising up of the *Irish*, and in the several Counties put themselves into several Bodies, under the Commands of the chief *English* Gentlemen round about them, they had undoubtedly (how ill soever they were provided of Arms and Munition) been able to have encountred the *Irish*, and to have beat them out of many Parts of the Country, or at least, to have put them to some stand in their Enterprize. Whereas, by the Course they took, they most readily, without almost any Resistance, exposed themselves to the merciless Cruelty of the *Irish*, who at the very first (for some few Days after their breaking out) did not in most Places murder many of them: But the Course they took, was to seize upon all their Goods and Cattle, to strip them, their Wives, and Children naked, and in that miserable Plight, the Weather being most bitter cold and frosty, to turn them out in this miserable Case to the Mountains, Woods and Bogs; and if they by any means procured any other Cloaths, or but even ordinary Rags to cover their Nakedness, they were presently taken from them again, and none suffered to give them any kind of Shelter by the way, Relief, or Entertainment, without incurring the heavy Displeasure of their Priests and chief Commanders. And so they drove such of the *English*, whose Lives they thought fit at that time to spare, clear out of the Country. Some of them took their Journey towards *Carigfergus*, others towards *Colrain*, *Derry*, and other of the Northern Ports. Many who had gotten together and stood upon their Guards, came to Composition with their bloody Assailants,

ants, and gave their Goods, Plate, and Money, for leave to come up to the City of *Dublin*. And having bought their Licence at so dear a Rate, had Passes and Convoys assigned them by the Chief Captains of the Rebels, and so came on their Way in great Troops of Men, Women, and Children. Out of the County of *Caven*, as Mr. *Creighton* (who by his Charitable relief of great Numbers of them, preserved them from Perishing) and testifies in his Examination, there passed by his House in one Company 1400 Persons, in another 500, from *Newtown* in the County of *Fermanagh*, in other lesser Numbers; all without any Weapons, or any thing else but the very Cloaths on their backs, which they suffered them not to carry away with them; but many were most Barbarously stripped of them, by those who undertook to give them safe Conduct, or perfidiously betrayed them into the Hands of other Rebels, by whom some were killed, others wounded: And all in a manner whatsoever they had to cover their Nakedness, taken from most of them; as may appear by the Examination of *Adam Clover* of *Slonofy* in the County of *Caven*, who being duly Sworn, deposeth *inter alia*, That this Deponent and his Company that were Robbed, observed, that Thirty Persons or thereabouts, were then most barbarously Murdered and slain outright, and about 150 more Persons cruelly Wounded; so that traces of Blood issuing from their Wounds, lay upon the High Way for Twelve Miles together, and many very Young Children were left and Perished by the Way, to the Number of Sixty or thereabouts; because the cruel pursuit of the Rebels was such, that their Parents and Friends could not carry them any further.

And further saith, that some of the Rebels vowed, that if any digged Graves wherein to bury the Dead Children, they should be buried therein themselves: So the poor People left the most of them unburied, exposed to Ravenous Beasts and Fowls, and some few their Parents carried a great Way to bury them. And this Deponent further saith, that he saw upon the Way a Woman left by the Rebels stripped to her Smock, set upon by three Women and some Irish Children, who Miserably rent and tore the said poor English Woman, and stripped her of her Smock in a bitter Frost and Snow, so that she fell in Labour under their Hands, and both she and her Child died there. Thus did their Mercy in sparing those miserable Souls in this manner prove by much a far greater Cruelty than if they had suddenly cut them off, as they did afterwards many Thousands of British that fell into their Hands. For now they Starved and Perished in Multitudes upon the Ways as they Travelled along; and to those

those that out-lived the Misery of their Journey, their Limbs only served to drag up their Bodies to Christian Burial there denied unto them. For many of the Men and most of the Women and Children that escaped, either to *Dublin* or other Places of safety in the North, not long out-lived the Bitterness of their Passage; but either overwhelmed with Grief, or outwearied with Travel, contracted those Diseases which furthered by Hunger, Cold, Nakedness, ill Lodgings, and want of other Necessaries, struck deeply into their Bodies that had lived long at ease with much plenty, and soon brought them with Sorrow to their Graves.

These were the first-fruits of their Rebellion which now began to dilate it self into the Provinces, having covered over the Northern Parts of the Kingdom with fearful desolations. The first Plotters were yet undiscovered, but the great active Instruments appointed for the Execution of this horrid design fully appeared, and had already deeply imbrued their Hands in the Bloody Massacre of the *English*, Sir *Phelim O Neal* being the Chief of that Sept, and now the Person remaining of nearest Alliance to the late Earl of *Tyrone*, assumed to himself the Chief Power among the Rebels in *Ulster*; and by his directions guided the rest of his complices on, in the Destruction of all the *English* there. He was one of very mean Parts without Courage or Conduct; his Education for a great part of his Youth was in *England*; he was admitted a Student of *Lincolns-Inn*, and there Trained up in the Protestant Religion, which he soon changed after, if not before his return into *Ireland*, lived loosely, and having no considerable Estate, by reason of the great Engagement upon it, became of very little esteem in all Mens Opinions. Yet such were the over zealous Affections of his Country-Men in this cause, their Secrecy in attempting, their suddenness in Executing, as by their forwardness to Destroy the *English* and get their goods, he quickly over-run that Part of the Country. He had prevailed so far within Seven Days after he first appeared in this Rebellion, by Seizing most Treacherously at the very first upon *Charlemont*, where the Lord *Causfield* lay with his Foot Company, the Forts of *Donganannon* and *Montjoy*, as that in his Letter written to Father *Patrick O Donnell* his Confessor, bearing Date from *Montjoy*, the 30th of *October*, he was able to brag of great and many Victories. And presently after he had gotten such a Multitude of rude Fellows together, though in very ill Equipage, as he Marched down with great Numbers of Men towards *Lisnagarvy*, near the Chief Plantation of the Scots; (for that Part of their Plot to spare them, as they did in the Beginning, they found now too

Sir *Phelim O Neal's* proceedings.

Dundalk taken by the Rebels about the beginning of November, 1641.

gross to take, therefore they Resolved to fall upon them without Mercy) and yet left sufficient Forces to come up into the Pale, to take in *Dundalk* in the County of *Lowth*. Which was a Frontier Town in the last Wars against *Tyrone*, and so well defended it self, as with all the Power he had, he could never recover it into his Hands. There lay now a Foot Company of the old Army, but the Lieutenant who Commanded it, having neither his Men in readines, nor Arms or Munition, made little or no Resistance, easily giving Way to the forward Affections of the Inhabitants who delivered up the Town into the Possession of the Rebels about the Beginning of November, 1641.

The Rebels march up towards Tredagh.

The Rebels presently after their taking in of *Dundalk* Marched on further into the County of *Lowth*, and Possessed themselves of *Ardee*, a little Town within Seven Miles of *Tredagh*, anciently called *Droghedagh*. So as it was now high Time to provide for the Safety of that Town. The Lord *Moor* had already retired thither from his House at *Millifont*, and there remained with his Troop of Horse and Two Companies of Foot. One was under the Command of Sir *John Netterville*, eldest Son to the Lord Viscount *Netterville*. He discovered in the very Beginning much virulency in his Affections by giving false Frights and raising false Rumours and making all manner of ill insu- sions into the minds of the Townsmen, who as it afterwards appeared, were but too forward to take part with the Rebels. It is verily believed they had in the very Beginning some Plot to cut off the Lord *Moor* and Seize upon his Troop; and that Sir *John Netterville's* Part was to begin a Mutiny, which he attempted that Night he was to be upon the Watch, by giving ill Language, and endeavouring to make a Quarrel with his Lordship, which he very discretely passed over, and so carefully looked to the Guard of the Town, as they could take no Advantage to put on their design. Howsoever the Townsmen were extremely Frighted with the Thoughts of their present Danger, and the greater part of them being Papists, were ready to declare themselves for the Catholick cause; only their desires were, things might be so Ordered, as would Administer unto them specious pretence of Necessity for the same. The Lord *Moor* gave present Advertisment unto the Lord Justices and the Council of the ill Condition and most imminent Danger he found the Town to be then in, that it was not possible to perserve it out of the Hands of the Rebels without further Strength both of Horse and Foot. That in case the Enemy should make any sudden Approaches, or Attempt to Suprize the Town, he found such poor Preparatives for Defence within, such

apparent

The ill condition of Tredagh, represented by the Lord Moor to the Lords Justices.

apparent Signs of Disloyalty in the Townsmen, and all things in such a desperate confusion, as they should not be able by the best Endeavours they could use to give any good Account of that Place. Hereupon their Lordships presently Resolved, to Levy in the City of *Dublin*, a Regiment of Foot, and to place them under the Command of Sir *Henry Tichborn* for the Defence of *Tredagh*. And for this purpose there was very Opportunely in the Hands of the Vice-Treasurer 3000 *l.* in a readiness to be at that Time sent over into *England*, for the Satisfaction of a Publick Engagement there. This the Lords thought fit to make use of, for the Levying and setting out of those Men which Sir *Henry Tichborn* got together in very few Days, and having a Commission of Government for the Town, with some other private Instructions, he marched away with great Alacrity and Diligence the Third of *November*, and happily arrived next Day at *Tredagh*.

A Regiment raised by the Lords Justices at *Dublin*, and sent down under the command of Sir *Henry Tichborn*, for the defence of *Tredagh*, *November*, 3.

The Lords granted another Commission to Sir *Charles Coot* to Levy a Thousand Men more, which he most carefully Endeavoured, and within a very short Time made up a Regiment, wherein very many of the English, who came up stripped and dispoiled out of the North, Lifted themselves; for most of the Men which Escaped from thence with their Lives, being better able to suffer than the Women and Children, out-lived the Miseries of their Journey, and putting themselves into several Companies, some of them had the Contentment to Revenge the barbarous Cruelty used by the Rebels towards them.

A Regiment raised by Sir *Charles Coot*.

Upon the Fifth of *November*, the Lords made their Second dispatch to His Majesty, still at *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*. At the same Time they sent several Letters into *England*, to the Lord Keeper, Speaker of the House of Peers, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, to the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; in all which they did with much Earnestness declare their present Dangers, together with the Necessity of sending sudden Relieif. In their Letter to the Lords of the Council they did more particularly set down the Miserable Estate of the whole Kingdom, and the large progress that the Rebellion had in few Days made since it broke out. They represented unto their Lordships the great out-rages the Rebels had Committed upon the British Inhabitants in *Ulster*, that they had Seized upon all their Estates and Houses in Five Counties of that Province, possessed their Arms, detained many of the Principal Gentlemen Prisoners; That they had already Slain many, most Barbarously hewed some to Pieces, that

The Second dispatch made by the Lords Justices and Council into *England*, *Nov.* 5.

The IRISH Rebellion.

that they have exposed Thousands to want and Beggary who had good Estates and lived plentifully : That the Rebellion began then to diffuse it self into the Counties of *Longford* and *Letrim*, and to threaten the English Plantations in the King and Queen's County: That the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Meath* and *Lowth* began to fall upon the *English* there about them: That they conceived there could not be less than 30000 who had openly declared themselves in this Rebellion, and were Assembled together, in great Parties, that they understood their design was, having got *Dundalk*, to take in *Tredagh*, and so to come up immediately to Besiege the City and Castle of *Dublin*, : That they gave out publicly, their purpose was to extirpate the *English* and Protestants, and not to lay down Arms until the Romish Religion was Established, the Government settled in the Hands of the Natives, and the old *Irish* restored to the Lands of their supposed Ancestors. That they held it their Duty to acquaint their Lordships with the Lamentable Estate wherein the Kingdom stood, that his Majesty and the Parliament might understand it, and so speedily provide for sending over to their Relief 10000 Foot, 1000 Horse, together with some able Commanders, 100000*l.* in Money and further Provisions of Arms: That unless these were presently sent to them (they craved leave to repeat it again and again) the Kingdom would be utterly lost, all the English and Protestants in *Ireland* Destroyed, the Peace of the Kingdom of *England* disturbed by the *Irish* from thence, and so *England* enforced to make a new Conquest of it, for that a politick Reformation would then be impossible. But now before I pass further, I shall here give an accompt of the arrival of these and the former Letters of the 25th of *October*, addressed by the Lords Justices and Council to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. *Owen O Connally*, the happy Discoverer of the Plot (who carried the first Letters over) arrived at *London* the last Day of *October*, and late in the Evening delivered those Letters to his Lordship, who having Read them over, and received from him full Information of all other particulars within his knowledge, repaired the next Morning to the Council-Board, and having there acquainted the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council with them, he was requir'd by their Lordships to communicate them unto the Lords of the upper House of Parliament, which he did accordingly the very same Morning: And they considering the high Importance of them, as soon as they had perused them, Ordered that they should be presently sent down to the House of Commons by the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy-Seal, Lord High Chamberlain, Lord Admiral, Lord Marshal, Lord

The Proceedings of the Parliament of *England* upon the first advertisement brought unto them, of the Rebellion raised in *Ireland*.

The IRISH Rebellion.

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Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Leicester*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Berks*, Earl of *Bristol*, Lord Viscount *Say*, Earl *Mandevile*, Lord *Goring*, Lord *Wilmot*, all of them of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council. There were Chairs provided for these Lords in the House of Commons, and they sat down there till the Letters were Read, and then having informed the House of such other particulars as they had received concerning the general Rebellion in *Ireland*, they departed without any further Conference or Debate upon them, leaving the House of Commons to consider further of them: Who presently Ordered,

That the House forthwith should be Resolved into a Committee, to take into Consideration the Matter offered, concerning the Rebellion in Ireland, as likewise to provide for the safety of the Kingdom of England.

This being done, they fell into a most Serious Debate of this great Business then before them, they fully considered what means were fittest to be used at present for the Prevention of the further spreading of that hideous Rebellion in *Ireland*, as well as stopping of the ill influence it might make upon their Affairs in *England*, where great Troubles even then began to appear within view. And after much Time spent in this Debate, they came to these several Conclusions, which being put to the Question, were assented unto by the Committee, and so Resolved as followeth,

1. That 500000 *l.* be forthwith provided.
2. That a Conference be desired with the Lords, to move them that a Select Committee of the Members of both Houses may be appointed to go to the City of *London*, and to make a Declaration unto them of the State of the Business in *Ireland*, and to acquaint them that the lending of Money at this Time will be an acceptable Service to the Common-Wealth. And that they purpose unto them the Loan of 50000 *l.* and to assure them that they shall be secured both of the Principal and Interest by Act of Parliament.
3. That a Select Committee may be Named, and both Houses to consider of the Affairs of *Ireland*.
4. That *Owen O Conally*, who Discovered this great Treason, shall have 500 *l.* presently paid him, and 200 *l.* per Annum Pension until Provision of Land of Inheritance of a greater value be made for him.
5. That the Persons of Papists of Quality within this Kingdom, may be secured within the several Counties where they reside.
6. That no Person whatsoever, Except those who are Merchants, shall be admitted to go over into *Ireland*, without Certificate from the Committee of both Houses appointed to consider the Affairs of *Ireland*.

These

These with several other Particulars concerning *Ireland*, and tending in Order to the Safety of the Kingdom of *England*, were Resolved upon the Question, and Mr. *Whitlock* appointed to Report them to the House as Heads of Conference desired with the Lords concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*, which was accordingly had with their Lordships the same Day. At which Conference the Lord Keeper did express the very great Sence the Lords had of the Exceeding great Care taken by the House of Commons for the Prevention of the further spreading of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. And his Lordship by Command of the Lords, did further let them know, that their Lordships did think fit to agree with them in all those Particulars presented unto them by the House of Commons without any Material Alteration, only adding such further Things as they conceived might serve to further and Expediate their desires in the more speedy putting them in Execution.

The House of Commons having proceeded thus far in the Affairs of *Ireland*, upon the Two first Days after the Discovery made unto them, of the Rebellion there raised, did notwithstanding their own present Distractions, set a Part some Portion almost every Day that they Sate, during the whole Month of *November*, for the Considering of the Affairs of *Ireland*; and so upon the Third and Fourth of the same, Resolved upon the Question, and accordingly Ordered these Particulars following:

1. That the House holds fit that 20000 *l.* be forthwith supplied for the present Occasions in *Ireland*.
2. That a convenient Number of Ships shall be provided for the Guarding of the Sea-coasts of *Ireland*.
3. That this House holds fit that 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse shall be raised with all convenient speed, for the present Expedition into *Ireland*.
4. That the Lord Lieutenant shall present to both Houses of Parliament, such Officers as he shall think fit to send into *Ireland*, to Command any Forces to be Transported thither.
5. That Magazines of Victuals shall be forthwith provided at *West-Chester* to be sent over to *Dublin*, as the Occasions of that Kingdom shall require.
6. That the Magazines of Arms, Ammunition, Powder, now in *Carlisle*, shall be forthwith sent over to *Knockfergus* in *Ireland*.
7. That it be referred to the King's Council, to consider of some fit Way and to present it to the House, for a Publication to be made of Rewards to be given to such as shall do Service in this Expedition into *Ireland*;

Ireland,; and for a Pardon of such of the Rebels in *Ireland*, as shall come in by a time Limited, and of a Sum of Money to be appointed for a Reward to such as shall bring in the Heads of such Principal Rebels as shall be Nominated.

8. That Letters shall be forthwith sent to the Justices in *Ireland* to acquaint them how Sensible this House is of the Affairs of *Ireland*.

9. That the Committee of Irish Affairs shall consider how, and in what manner this Kingdom shall make use of the Friendship and Assistance of *Scotland*, in that Business of *Ireland*.

10. That Directions shall be given for the drawing of a Bill for the Pressing of Men for this Particular Service of *Ireland*.

These Particulars, together with several others, being Resolved upon the Question, they passed an Ordinance of Parliament, Enabling the Earl of *Leicester* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to raise 3500 Foot, and 600 Horse, for the present Service there. And they further expressed their Resolution, not to make use of the Assistance offered unto them by their Brethren of *Scotland*, further for the present, then for the Furnishing them with 1000 Foot, which they desired might be Transported out of *Scotland*, into the North of *Ireland*. And on the same Day they Ordered, that the Master of his Majesty's Ordinance should deliver to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Number of 1000 Arms for Horse and 8000 for Foot, and Ten Last of Powder, to be presently sent into *Ireland*. And that the Lord Admiral should suddenly provide Shipping for the Transporting of Men, Arms, and Ammunition, and other Provisions according to the former Resolutions of the House.

Now while both Houses of Parliament were taking Order for raising Men, Money and sending Provisions and other Necessaries for *Ireland*, there arrived those other Letters of the 5th of *November*, formerly mentioned, which being Addressed to the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, were Communicated to both Houses of Parliament, and after a Conference upon them, took further Resolutions for the speedy sending away Supplies into *Ireland*. And such were the forward Affections and Zeal of the House of Commons, to promote what concerned the Service of *Ireland*, as they thereupon Voted 200000 *l.* to be raised for the suppressing the Irish Rebellion, and for the securing of the Kingdom of *England*, and Payment of the Publick Debts. And that they might facilitate this great Work of raising such a Sum of Money, upon Credit of an Act of Parliament, before the Money could be Collected throughout the Kingdom; they thought

thought fit, for the better Encouragement of the City of London, and for the giving them full Satisfaction in point of Security for the Money formerly Lent them, to make this Order following.

TH E Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having a due Regard to the good Affection of the City of London, expressed upon sundry Occasions, of the advancing and lending of great Sums of Money, for the Service of this Common-Wealth, and particularly the Sum of Fifty Thousand Pounds lent for the Irish Affairs, and the Sum of Fifty Thousand Pounds more lent by the said City unto the Peers attending His Majesty in the Northern Parts before the Beginning of this present Parliament, which are not yet paid, or otherways secured, shall be fully satisfied and repaid unto the said City of London, with Interest of Eight Pounds per Cent. for one Year, out of which Monies as are or shall be raised by Authority of Parliament. And for that Purpose an Act of Parliament to be passed with all Expedition. Provided always that this present Ordinance shall not in any ways be prejudicial to any Members of the said House of Commons, who have formerly lent any Sums of Money to this Parliament, nor to the Northern Counties, nor to any Persons whatsoever, to whom both Houses of Parliament, on the said House of Commons have formerly ordered the Payment of any Sums of Money, nor to any Security given to them, before the making of this Ordinance.

But I shall now return to the Affairs of this Kingdom, and the Serious Consultations and means used here by the Justices and Council for the Securing of the City and Castle of Dublin, which by Reason of the present Confusion, Weakness, and Wants, were in very great, and most apparent Danger of a sudden Surprize.

And first for the Castle, Sir Francis Willoughby being made Governor, had a Company of a 100 Men well Armed, assigned for the constant Guard of that Place, besides the Ordinary Warders, who gave their usual Attendance there. And because the Lords conceived it might be Dangerous in such desperate Times to admit such a Multitude of Suitors of all Sorts into the Castle, as had daily Occasion to attend the Council-Board, they presently Transferred the Place of their Meeting in Council to Cork House, where they continued to Sit a good Time after, notwithstanding the great Danger their Persons were continually exposed unto, by the Confident Resort in great Numbers of several Lords and Gentlemen and others, who within few Days after declared themselves Rebels, and so went out among them.

them. It was Gods immediate providence that preserved them, and suffered not those Persons who soon after became such bloody Rebels, to lay hold on that opportunity. For certainly, they might with great ease have taken out of the way the Lords Justices and Council, and so have left all things in such Confusion as would have brought on their long desired ends without any further contestation or trouble.

The next care was to provide Victuals for the Castle in such proportions as might enable it to endure a Siege, in case the Town, either through Treachery within, or by Forces from without, should come to be Surprized by the Rebels, who now carried all things so clearly before them in the North, as they most confidently gave it out they would suddenly come down and make themselves Masters of it. How to compass this, seemed a Matter of great Difficulty, in regard there was no Money to be had for the performing this Work so absolutely necessary in it self, and at that time so highly importing the safety and preservation, even of the whole Kingdom. Therefore the Master of the Rolls, upon whom the Lords were pleased to impose this Service of Victualling the Castle, took the Advantage of the strange frights, fears, and little safety, all the *English* and Protestants conceived both themselves and their Goods to remain in at that time. He sent presently for some of the Chief Merchants that were Protestants in the Town, and clearly represented unto them, the high necessities of the State, the great Danger of the Town, the publick benefit, and their own private Security, in laying into the Castle such of their Provisions as they had lying by them even in unsafe places of the City. These impressions took, and they rightly apprehending the Common Danger, that they could not out-live the ruins of the Castle; partly out of their good Affections to the Service, partly out of a prudent care to secure their Goods, were content to bring in great quantities of Beef, Herrings, and Corn, upon the Master of the Rolls undertaking to see them satisfied in case use were made of them, or otherwise certain Restitution in kind to the several owners. So as there were presently laid in by the *English* and *Dutch* Merchants, within the Verge of the Castle, above 2000 Barrels of Beef, 2000 Barrels of Herrings and a good Proportion of Wheat; Provisions sufficient, not only to Victual the Castle for many Months, but which did serve to maintain the whole Army billeted in the City a long time after; and their Money they received within few Months after by Certificate from hence upon the Chamber of *London*; according to an Order made by both Houses of Parliament in *England*; for present

Order taken
for Victual-
ling the Castle
of *Dublin*.

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Payment

Payment to be made to such as laid in any Provisions for the Army in *Ireland*. There was then further Order taken to new dig and clear an old Well long since stopped up within the Walls of the Castle; and to provide all other necessaries for a Siege. This was the first step to the safety of this place, and gave great comfort and Security to all the *English* and Protestants.

The Lords
Justices care
to provide for
the safety of
the City of
Dublin.

The Castle being thus happily provided for, the Lords took it next into their care how to secure the City in some sort, against any sudden attempts. And this proved a Work not easy to be effected, not only in regard of the Creziness of the Walls, the large Suburbs, and weakness of the place; but much more in respect of the Corrupt ill Affections of the Popish Inhabitants within the City: So strangely were many of them deluded with the ill infusions of their Priests, as they did certainly (as we found afterwards by woful experience) do all that in them lay, to promote the Rebellious designs then set on Foot (as they believed) only for the re-settlement of their Religion, and recovery of their Liberties. They were the Instruments to Convey away privately most of the Chief Conspirators, who would have Surprized the Castle on the 23d of *October*. They secretly entertained many of the Rebels that came out of the Country, they likewise sent them Relief that were abroad by secret ways, conveying as well Ammunition, as Intelligence of all passages from hence. And such strong averfions had they against all Contributions for the Maintenance of His Majesty's Army; as in the very beginning of the Rebellion, when the Lords sent for the Mayor and Aldermen; and laying before them the high Necessities of the State, together with the apparent Danger of the City and whole Kingdom, desired to borrow a considerable Sum of Money for the present, which they undertook to repay out of the next Treasure that should arrive out of *England*. The Popish party among them was so pervalent, as that after a most serious Consultation and very solemn Debate among themselves, they returned this Answer that they were not able to furnish above 40*l*. and part of that was to be in Cattle.

Several Irish
Soldiers Im-
bark under
pretence of
being carried
into *Spain*, at
the very time
of the first
breaking out of
the Rebellion.

There remained at this time imbarqued within the Harbour of *Dublin* Four Hundred *Irish* Soldiers, ready as they pretended, to set Sail for *Spain*, under the Command of Colonel *John Barry*, who with some other *Irish* Gentlemen had procured leave from His Majesty to Levy certain Numbers of Volunteers to be Transported over for the Service of the King of *Spain*. And those Levied in other parts as well as at *Dublin*, were brought together just at the very time design'd for the Execution of the great Plot. The pretence was specious,

specious, but certainly their Intentions how finely soever cover'd over, were to have those Men in a readiness together, at the very time appointed for the first breaking out of these unnatural Troubles. And as for those Men which lay within the Harbour of *Dublin*, they were so great a Terror to all the Protestant Inhabitants in the City as it exceedingly perplexed the Lordshew to dispose of them as might prevent the Mischief justly feared in case of their Landing. Their Commanders had so handsomely ordered the Matter, as tho' they were designed for a long Voyage, yet stay on Ship-board any longer they could not, by reason they had no Victuals, not even enough to carry them out of the Harbour; and no Man had Orders in the Absence of Colonel *Barry* (who retired himself some few Miles out of the Town, the very Evening before the Castle should have been taken) to provide for the further supplying of them. To suffer them to Land, was to add so many instruments of Mischief to those already gathered within and about the City. Therefore it was resolved that the Captain of the King's Pinnace then in the Harbour, should by force keep them from Landing, which he did several Days together, till it was apparant they would inevitably starve, if a Course was not suddenly taken to afford them some relief. Whereupon the Lords having no means to Victual them aboard, gave them leave to Land, having first given Orders they should not come into the City.

The Lords Justices and Council thought fit within very few Days after the Landing of those Men, the more to deter them, and all other Ill-affected Persons from repairing to the City of *Dublin*, to issue out a Proclamation for the Discovery and present removal of all such as did or should come and continue there without just or necessary cause. But so careful were they in this, and all other their Actions, not to give any distaste to the *Irish* or other Inhabitants of the Country, as they forbore to inflict any Punishment upon any that continued in the City contrary to their Proclamation, sparing several Persons whom they had not only just cause to be jealous of, but who were brought before them, and convinced to have uttered Speeches clearly discovering their ill-affections. And having by late Proclamations prorogued the Parliament, and adjourned *Michaelmas* Term, that under pretence of repair to either of them, unnecessary concourse of Strangers might not be brought unto the Town, they proceeded on to some other Acts, which as they conceived would not only render great Security to the City, but lessen the Distempers abroad, bring safety to the *Pale*, and keep the Dangers at distance, and far off from them. And for this purpose they being informed that a

Several Proclamations issued out by the Lords Justices and Council.

Multitude of the meaner sort of People were ignorantly involved in the Guilt of this Rebellion, and by the Wicked seducement of the first Conspirators had been drawn on to despoil their *English* Neighbours, they issued out a Proclamation about the Beginning of the Month of *November*, declaring unto all such as were not Freeholders within the County of *Meath*, *West-Meath*, *Lowth*, and *Longford*; that if they would come in and submit, make Restitution of the Goods so taken, they should be received to His Majesty's Mercy, and no further Prosecution held against them.

A Remonstrance sent up to the Lords Justices and Council, from the Rebels in the County of *Cavan*.

Much about the time of the sending forth of this Proclamation, some of the Chief of the Sept of the *Rely's*, and other prime Gentlemen in the County of *Cavan*, sent up a kind of Remonstrance to the Lords Justices and Council. Whereunto they returned them a very fair Answer, assuring them of their readiness to give them all just redress of their Grievances expressed therein, so they would in the mean time retire peaceably to their Houses, restore as they were able the *English-mens* goods, and forbear all further Acts of Rapine and Violence. And they did presently send over their Remonstrance to the Lord Lieutenant, to be presented to His Majesty, according to their desire. But these ways of Moderation and peaceable Persuasions, proved of very little effect, they had no manner of influence into the resolved minds of the Leaders, or of operation upon the hardened Hearts of the People; they were too deeply engaged, so slightly to retire. They had now drenched themselves in the Blood of the *English*, and were greatly enriched with their Spoils. It was not possible for them to make Restitution, and they hoped to go through with the Work, and by the united Power of the Kingdom to draw the whole Managment of the Affairs into their own Hands.

Commissions of Martial Law granted unto several Persons by the Lords Justices.

And now likewise the Lords Justices, and Council, that they might shew the great Confidence they had in the Lords and Chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, and give them both Opportunity and means to express their Loyalty and Affections to his Majesty's Service, resolved (according as the Constitution of their Affairs then required) to do some such Acts as might clearly persuade them of the great trust they really reposed in them. And therefore first they gave out several Commissions of Martial Law, for execution (without attending a proceeding according to the Ordinary course of the Common Law) of such Traitors and Rebels as should be apprehended doing Mischief in any parts of the Country about them. And these they directed to the most active Gentlemen, though all Papist, Inhabiting in the several Counties: As to *Henry Talbot*, in the County of *Dublin*,

John

John Bellem Esq; in the County of *Lowth*, *Richard Dalton*, and *James Tuit Esq*; in the County of *West-meath*, *Valerian Wesley* in the County of *Meath*, *James Talbot* in the County of *Cavan*.

Next they made choice of the Chief Persons of Quality residing in the said Counties of the *Pale*, and others adjacent to them, to govern and Command such Forces as should be raised by them, and Armed by the State for the Defence of the Country: And issued out from the Council-board several Commissions of Government unto them. As one to the Earl of *Ormonde* and the Lord Viscount *Montgarret*, for the County of *Kilkenny*; to *Walter Bagnall Esq*; for the County of *Catherlogh*; Sir *James Dillon* the Elder, and Sir *James Dillon* the Younger for the County of *Longford*; Lord Viscount *Costaloe* for the County of *Mayo*, Sir *Robert Talbot* and *Garnat Brine* for the County of *Wicklow*; Sir *Christopher Bellem* for the County of *Lowth*; Earl of *Kildare* for the County of *Kildare*; Sir *Thomas Nugent* for the County of *West-meath*; *Nicholas Barnwell* for the County of *Dublin*; Lord Viscount *Gormanstown* for the County of *Meath*. All these were made choice of without distinction of Religion; the Lords holding it fit at that time to put the Chief Persons of Power in the County into those places of trust; hoping they might prove good instruments to oppose the threatening incursions of the Northren Rebels which they knew them well enabled to perform if they would really joyn in the Service, or at least be kept by this their great confidence in them, from giving any Entertainment or Assistance to their rebellious designs.

The Commission directed to the Lord of *Gormanston*, I have thought fit here to insert. It was found afterwards in his Study by some of His Majesty's Army, when he and all the rest of the Governors that were of the Romish Religion, thus chosen, deserted their Houses, and openly declared themselves in actual Rebellion. The other Commissions were of the same Tenour.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

W. Parsons. John Borlace.

Right trusty and well beloved, We greet you well, Whereas divers most Disloyal and Malignant Persons within this Kingdom have Traiterously Conspired against His Majesty, His Peace, Crown and Dignity; and many of them in Execution of their Conspiracy, are Traiterously

The IRISH Rebellion.

terously Assembled together in a Warlike manner, and have most Inhumanly made Destruction and Devastation of the Persons and Estates of divers of His Majesty's Good and Loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, and taken, Slain, and Imprisoned great Numbers of them. We out of Our Care and Zeal for the Common Good, being desirous by all means to Suppress the said Treasons and Traitors, and to Conserve the Persons and Fortunes of His Majesty's Loving Subjects here in Safety; and to prevent the further Spoil and Devastation of His Majesty Good People here, do therefore hereby Require and Authorize you, to Levy, Raise and Assemble, all, every, or any the Forces, as well Foot-Men as Horse-Men within the County of Meath, giving you hereby the Command in Chief of all the said Forces, and hereby further Requiring and Authorizing you as Commander of them in Chief, to Arm, Array, Divide, Distribute, Dispose, Conduct, Lead, and Govern in Chief the said Forces according to your best Discretion; and with the said Forces, to resist, pursue, follow, Apprehend, and put to Death, Slay, and Kill, as well by Battel as otherways, all and singular the said Conspirators, Traitors and their Adherents, according to your Discretion; and according to your Conscience and Discretion to proceed against them, or any of them, by Martial Law, by Hanging them or any of them till they be Dead, according as it hath been accustomed in time of open Rebellion; and also to Take, Waste, and Spoil their, or any of their Castles, Holds, Forts, Houses, Goods, and Territories, or otherwise to preserve the Lives of them, or any of them, and to receive them into His Majesty's Favour and Mercy, and to forbear the Devastation of their, or any of their Castles, Forts, Houses, Holds, Goods, and Territories afore-mentioned, according to your Discretion: Further hereby Requiring and Authorizing you to do, Execute, and perform all and singular such other things for Examination of Persons suspected, Discovery of Traitors and their Adherents, Parlying with, and granting Protections to them or any of them, taking up of Carts, Carriages, and other conveniencies, Sending and Retaining Espials, Victualing the said Forces, and other things whatsoever conducing to the purpose afore-mentioned, as you in your Discretion shall think fit, as the Necessity of the Service Require; further hereby Requiring and Authorizing you, as Commander in Chief, to constitute and appoint such Officers and Ministers respectively, for the better performance and Execution of all and singular the premises, as you in your Discretion shall think fit. And We do hereby Require and Command, all and singular His Majesty's Sheriffs, Officers, and Ministers, and Loving Subjects, of and within the County of Meath, and the Borders thereof upon their Faith and Allegiance to

His

His Majesty, and to His Crown, to be Aiding, Helping, and Assisting to you, in the doing, and Executing of all and singular the Premises; This Our Commission to continue during Our Pleasure only, and for the so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given at His Majesty's Castle of Dublin, November, 1641.

R. Dillon. John Temple.
Ja. Ware. Rob. Meredith.

To Our very good Lord Nicholas.
Vic. Com. Gormanston.

In these Commissions it is very observable, that there was Power given to those Lords and Gentlemen to whom they were directed, not only to use Fire and Sword, for the Destruction of the Rebels and their Adherents, but also to preserve the Lives of any of them, to receive them, or any of them into His Majesty's Favour or Mercy. This plainly shews the very great confidence the Lords were pleased to repose in them; as also their desires to make them Instruments to deliver those Multitudes of People that engaged themselves in this Rebellion, from the Power, either of His Majesty's Arms or Civil Justice. They intended nothing but the reducing a Rebellious Nation; and they at the first applied Lenitives, which failing in the Cure, they were afterwards then enforced to have recourse to more violent Medicines.

That those Governours thus constituted, might be the better enabled according to the Authority and Power given unto them by their several Commissions, to undertake the Defence of the Country in this high extremity of the near approaching Dangers: The Lords took Order to have delivered unto them a certain Proportion of Arms, to be employed for the Arming of some Men to be raised in each County for the Common Safety, besides the Arms they gave them, and other Gentlemen, for the Defence of their own private Houses. As to the Lord of Gormanston there were delivered Arms for five Hundred Men, for the County of Meath. There were also delivered Arms for three Hundred Men for the County of Kildare. Arms for three Hundred Men for the County of Lowth. Arms for three Hundred Men for the County of West-meath. Arms for three Hundred Men for the County of Dublin. And about the same time there were sent down four Hundred Muskets, to the Lords of the Ards and

Arms and
Munition de-
livered out to
the Lords and
chief Gentle-
men of the
Pale, by the
Lords Justice
and Council.

Clande-

Clandeboys, for the Arming of the *Scots* in the County of *Down*. All of these had Powder, Lead, and Match, proportionable to their Arms, at the same time delivered unto them.

Several Counties within the Province of *Linster* declare themselves for the Rebels.

But now the Poison of this Rebellion which had hitherto contained it self within the Northren Counties, and the confines of them, began to be diffused into other parts of the Kingdom. It had already infected the Counties of *Letrim*, *Longford*, *West-Meath*, and *Lowth*, lying Contiguous unto them. And upon the 12th of *November* the *Irish* in the County of *Wicklow* broke out most furiously, Despoiling, Robbing, and Murthering all the *English* Inhabitants within that Territory. They burnt all their fair well-built Houses, drove away their Cattle, and laid Siege to Fort *Carew*, wherein was a Foot Company of the old Army. The News being brought to the Lords Justices thereof, they well considered the importance of the Place, and that if it were in the Hands of the Rebels, and that whole County in their Possession, they could expect little quietness, or even Safety in the City, by reason of their near Neighbourhood. Whereupon they were most desirous to have sent down Forces for the Relief of it. But when they came on the other side to consider their want of means for the performance of that Service, that they had no Money, but few Men, and many of them not to be trusted; that it would be very Dangerous to divide their small Forces, and so to leave the City in a manner unguarded, they were enforced to lay aside that Resolution, and with great grief to sit still and suffer the Poor *English* in those parts to be expos'd to the Merciless Cruelties of those barbarous Rebels who went on furiously with the Work, and quickly clear'd all that County of the *English* Inhabitants. Within few Days after, the *Irish* in the Counties of *Wexford* and *Catherlogh* began to rise likewise, and to follow the Bloody Examples of their Neighbours. There were now also great appearances of the Disloyalty of the County of *Kildare*, who with large Protestations under the pretence of doing Service had gotten into their Hands the Arms and Munition designed for them by the State. And so Mysterious and doubtful was the carriage of the Lords and Chief Gentlemen of the *English Pale*, giving no manner of Intelligence to the State of the proceedings of the Rebels, nor making any kind of preparatives against them, as their Affections began even then to be justly suspected.

The sad condition of the City of *Dublin*.

So as the City of *Dublin* being the receptacle of the whole State, the Magazine of all the Arms, Munition and other Provisions for the Army, and the Chief Sanctuary of all the *English* and despoiled Protestants, was now reduced to a very sad Condition, desperately encompassed

passed on ever side the Northern Rebels being come down in two several Parties with great Forces, within twenty Miles of it on the one side, and the Rebels of the County of *Wicklow* infesting it on the other side: Which with the great resort of Strangers, and the continual rumours of new Plots and devices to Surprise the Town, possessed the Protestants with extraordinary fears of their present Danger. But that which made their Condition appear much more formidable unto them, was the daily repair of Multitudes of *English* that came up in Troops, stripped, and miserably despoiled, out of the *North*. Many Persons of good Rank and Quality, cover'd over with old Rages, and some without any other covering then a little twisted Straw to hide their Nakedness. Some Reverend Ministers and others that had Escap'd with their Lives, sorely Wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the Murders of their Husbands, Mothers of their Children barbarously Destroyed before their Faces, poor Infants ready to Perish and pour out their Souls in their Mothers Bosom: Some over-wearied with long Travel, and so-furbated, as they came creeping on their Knees; others frozen up with Cold, ready to give up the Ghost in the Streets: Others over-whelm'd with grief, distracted with their losses, lost also their Sences. Thus was the Town within the compass of a few Days after the breaking out this Rebellion filled with these most lamentable Spectacles of Sorrow, which in great Numbers wandred up and down in all Parts of the City, desolate, forsaken, having, no place to lay their Heads on, no Cloathing to cover their Nakedness, no Food to fill their Hungry Bellies. And to add to their Miseries, they found all manner of Relief very disproportionate to their Wants, the Popish Inhabitants refusing to minister the least comfort unto them: So as those sad Creatures appeared like living Ghosts in every Street. Many empty Houses in the City, were by special Direction taken up for them: Barns, Stables, and other out Houses filled with them, yet many lay in the open Streets, and others under Stalls and there most miserably Perished. The Churches were the Common receptacles of the meaner sort of them, who stood there in a most doleful posture, as objects of Charity, in so great Multitudes, as there were scarce any Passage unto them. But those of better Quality, who could not frame themselves Common Beggars, crept into private places some of them that had not private Friends to relieve them, even wasted silently away and so Died without noise. And so bitter was the Remembrance of their former Condition, and so insupportable the Burthen of their present Calamity to many of them, as they even refused to be comforted. I have known

The resort of multitudes of Men, Women and Children to the City of *Dublin*, in a most miserable posture.

known of some that lay almost naked, and having Clothes sent, laid them by, refusing to put them on. Others that would not stir to fetch themselves Food, though they knew where it stood ready for them. But they continued to lye nastily in their filthy Raggs, and even their own Dung, not taking care to have any thing clean, handsome or comfortable about them.

And so even worn out with the Misery of their Journey and cruel Usages, having their Spirits spent, their Bodies wasted, and their Sences failing, lay here pitifully languishing; and soon after they had recovered this Town, very many of them Died, leaving their Bodies as Moments of the most inhuman Cruelties used towards them. The greatest part of the Women and Children thus barbarously expelled out of their Habitations, perished in the City of *Dublin*: And so great Numbers of them were brought to their Graves, as all the Church-Yards within the whole Town were of too narrow a compass to contain them. So as the Lords took order to have two large pieces of new Ground, one on each side the River, taken in upon the out Greens, and set apart for Burying places: These were the Memorable spectacles of Mercy, and of the great Commiseration the Rebels used to those *English* to whom they gave their Lives for a prey. But what their sufferings were, before they could get out of the Hands of those Bloody Villians, what strange horrid Inventions they used towards them, Torturing and Massacring those they there Murder'd, is reserved to be more fully related in its proper place. They are left to Posterity under the Oaths of many that escaped, and mentioned here to no other purpose, then to shew the strange horror and amazement the beholding of them bred in all the *English* and Protestant Inhabitants of the City. They seeing the Rebels prevail so mightily, expected if they continued here to be undoubtedly exposed to the same Cruelties. And they now understood by those who were come up from among them, that their design was; As soon as they had taken in *Tredagh*, to come and Seize upon the City and Castle of *Dublin*, and so to make a General Extirpation of all the *English*, Root and Branch, not to leave them Name or Posterity throughout the Kingdom.

It is easy to Conjecture what a sad confused Countenance the City then had: What fears, terror, and astonishment, the miserable spectacles within, and the Approaches of the Rebels without, raised in the Minds of an affrighted distracted People. The *English* Inhabitants looked upon all the Horrid Cruelties exercised abroad, all the Calamities and Desolations fallen upon their Country-men in other parts

parts of the Kingdom, as arrived at these Gates and now ready to enter: The Avenues all open, neither hopes nor means, neither Ramparts nor Trenches to keep them out. Notwithstanding the careful Travels and Endeavours used by the Lords Justices and Council to make Provision for the Common Safety, no Money could be raised, few Men gotten together: The Papists well furnished with Arms closely concealed, and desperately animated by their Priests to all manner of Mischief: No Fortifications about the Subrubs, nor any manner of Defence for the City, but an old ruinous Wall, part whereof fell down in the very height of these Distractions. And so careless were the Citizens, and so slowly went they about the making up that Breach, as under pretence of want of Money, they let it lye open till the Lords sent unto them 40*l.* towards the Reparation. All things tended to a sudden Confusion; the very Face of the City was now changed, and had such a ghastly aspect as seemed to portend her near approaching ruin: The means of Safety appearing very slender and inconsiderable: The Applications by Reason of the strange Aversions of the Popish party of a very slow and Weak Operation. Every Man began to consider himself and his own private Preservation. Those that lived in the Subrubs removed, with their Families into the City. The Privy Councillors and Persons of Quality into the Castle, which became a Common repository of all things of value. The Rolls were by Special Order removed thither: The Records of several other Offices were likewise brought in. But upon the Rebels advance somewhat nearer, and their frequent Alarms, many of those who had there taken Sanctuary, began to suspect the Strength of those old Crazy Walls, and therefore to make sure, Resolved to quit the Kingdom imbarquing themselves and their goods with all possible speed. Some who were detained with contrary Winds in the Harbour chose rather to endure all extremities on Ship-board, than to hazard themselves a Shore again. The Scotch Fishermen, who lay with their Boats in great Numbers within the Bay, Fishing for Herrings; have with much forwardness made an offer to the State to bring five Hundred of their Men a Shore to be put in Arms and to do present Service (a Proposition at that Season most acceptable) were so strangely affrighted one Evening with a false Alarm, as that in the Night, on a sudden they put to Sea, and quit disappeared on these Coast till the Year following. The Papists on the other side being most confident that the City would be taken and sack'd by the Rebels, and fearing lest happily they might be mistaken in the Tumult and fierce Execution, removed themselves and their goods with the same speed into the

The Fears and
Distractions
within the Ci-
ty of Dublin.

Country. And that which heightened the Calamity of the Poor *English* was their flight in the Winter, in such a dismal Stormy Tempestuous Season, as in the Memory of Man had never been observed formerly to continue so long together. Yet the Terror of the Rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the Rage of the Sea, most of those who could provide themselves Shipping, though at never so excessive Rates, Deserted the City: And such was the Violence of the Winds, such continuing impetuous Storms, as several Barks were cast away; some in three Months after their going from hence could recover no Port in *England*: And almost all that then put to Sea, were in great Danger of Perishing. The Iniquities of the *English* Nation, which were very great in this Kingdom, were now full: Heaven and Earth seemed to conspire together for the Punishment of them God certainly declared his high Indignation against them for their great Sins wherewith they had long continued to provoke him in his Land, and suffered these barbarous Rebels to be the Instruments of Mischief and cruel Executioners of his fierce wrath upon them.

Ezek. 25. 15. But because they have taken Vengeance with despightful Hearts to Destroy them, for the old hatred, He will certainly in His own time execute great Vengeance upon them with furious Rebukes, as he threatened the Philistians in the like case.

The Particulars of the first Plot of the *Irish* Rebellion: Together with a brief Narration of the most Notorious Cruelties and Bloody Massacrees which ensued in several parts of this Kingdom.

Concerning
the first Plot
of the Rebel-
lion.

TH U S we see what a great height this Rebellion was grown up unto, within the space of less then one Month, after the very first appearance of it: What horrid Murders, cruel Out-rages, and fearful Desolations it had already wrought in one Province, and what a Powerful Operation the Cruelties there Acted had upon other parts. But before I pass further, or come to declare the Universal Disolation of it throughout the whole Kingdom, and how it pleased God even Miraculously to bless the painful Endeavours of the State, in the Preservation of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, till the Arrival of their long expected Succours out of *England*: I hold it not amiss to look back, and (as far as the late Discoveries and dark glimmerings we have into the first Plot will admit) to trace it up to the first Beginnings we find of it within this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Con-

Concerning the first Original of this great Conspiracy, as likewise the first Plotters and Contrivers of it, I must ingeniously confess, that I am my self much unsatisfied in the first Conceptions of this Monstrous Birth, and therefore shall not now be able clearly to resolve others therein: I cannot yet determine who were the very first Contrivers, where the first Debates were Entertained, or who first Sate in Council about it. This, as all other Works of this Nature, had its Foundation laid in the dark, and Sealed up no doubt with many execrable Oaths, the great Engines of these Times, to bind up the Consciences as well as the Tongues of Men from the Discovery: Besides they knew well enough, that the Plot being most abominable in it self, to be carried on with such detestable Cruelty, should it take and be fully Executed (which commonly gives to all other Treasons applause and highest Commendation) would certainly render the first Authors, as well as the Bloody Actors, most odious and execrable to all Posterity: Therefore it is not much to be wondred, that the first Beginnings so Mysterious and obscurely laid, remain as yet concealed with so great Obstinacy: But yet I am very confident, that upon view of several Examinations, any reasonable Man will conclude with me, that the very first Principles of this inhuman Conspiracy, were roughly drawn and hammered out at the Romish Forge, Powerfully Fomented by the Treachery and virulent Animosities of some of the Chief *Irish* Natives, and so by degrees, by them moulded into that ugly shape wherein it first appeared: There certainly it received the first Life and Motion, whether at *Rome*, whether in *Ireland*, or in any other place, I cannot yet determine: But my meaning is, it was first Hatched and set on Foot by those most vigilant and industrious Emissaries who are sent continually abroad by the Power of that See with full Commission, *per fas & nefas*, to make way for the Re-establishment of the Romish Religion in all parts where it hath been suppressed. Great Numbers of these wicked Instruments, (the Laws against all the Romish Clergy, being of late laid aside, and tacitely suspended Execution) came over to *Ireland*: The main Ground-Work, and first Predispositions to a Rebellion in General; were most undoubtedly with great Dexterity and Artifices laid by them; their venomous Infusion taking such deep Roots in the Minds of a Blind, Ignorant, Superstitious People, as made them ready for a Change, the great Ones Mischievously to Plot and contrive, the inferiour sort Tumultuously to rise up and execute whatsoever they should Command.

Who were
the Plotters
of it not yet
clearly disco-
vered.

And

And if we will give Credit to several Examinations taken, many of them from those of their own, we must believe the Plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland*, of a very ancient Date, as well as of a Large extent: It had been long contriving, and howsoever, Peradventure first thought on in *Ireland*, yet received large Contributions towards Consummation out of *England* and other Foreign parts.

The general Plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland* of an ancient date.

I have seen an Examination of one, who affirms he heard it confidently averred by *Malone* a Priest, one that stiled himself Chaplain Major within the *Pale*, that he himself had been seven Years employed in bringing on this Plot to Perfection, that he had Travelled into several parts about it.

Mr. Goldsmith, a Minister in *Connaught*, told me, that he did a full Year before the Rebellion broke out, receive a Letter from a Brother of his residing at *Brussels*, wherein he gave him Notice thereof, though so obscurely, as he well understood it not till afterwards.

Francis Sacheveril, Esq; his Examination.

Patrick O Bryan, of the Parish of *Galloom*, in the County of *Fermanagh*, affirmeth upon Oath, that all the Nobles in the Kingdom that were Papists, had a Hand in this Plot, as well as the Lord *MacGuire*, and *Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon*; that they expected aid out of *Spain* by *Owen Roe O Neal*, and that Colonel *Plunket*, one of those that was to be an Actor in the Surprize of the Castle of *Dublin*; told him that he knew of this Plot eight Years since, and that within these three Years he hath been more fully acquainted with it. *Francis Sacheveril*, Esq; hath Deposed, that several times shortly after the Beginning of this Rebellion, he hath heard four several Popish Priests, viz. *Hugh Reily* of the County of *Down*, *Edmund O Tunnah* of the County of *Armagh*, *Morice Mac-Credan*, of the County of *Tyrone*, and *James Hallegan*, of the County of *Armagh*, say, That the Priests, Jesuits and Fryers of *England*, *Ireland*, *Spain*, and other Countries beyond the Seas, were the Plotters, Projecters and Contrivers of this Rebellion and Insurrection, and that they have been these six Years in Agitation and Preparation of the same, and that the said Priests did then express a kind of joy that the same was brought to so good effect: He also further deposeth, That at several times *Ever Boy MacGennis* in the County of *Down* Gent. and *Hugh O Hagan* in the County of *Armagh* Gent. did brag and say, that they doubted not but that they should shortly Conquer the *English* in the Kingdom, and enjoy the same quietly to themselves, and that they would not rest so content, but they would raise strong Armies to invade and Conquer *England*. *Roger Moor* one of the Prime Conspirators, told *Mr. Colby*, then Prisoner with him, that the Plot had been framing several Years,

Years, and should have been executed several times, but they were still hindred. By Letters sent from *Rome* to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and the Lord *Mac-Guire*, which were Intercepted and brought to the Lord *Parsons*, though the Fryer that writ them doth not express any certain knowledge of this Plot, yet thus much appeared by them, that they had long desired to hear of the rising of the *Irish*, that the News of Sir *Phelim O Neal's* taking up Arms was very acceptable to the Pope and his two Cardinal Nephews, assuring him of all the Assistance from thence; and further desiring him to send over an Agent to *Rome*, and to imploy several Persons of his own Nation, whom he there named, then residing at *Madrid*, *Paris*, and with the *Emperor*, they being fit Instruments, and such as he might make use of for the procuring Succours from those Princes whom he assured him would joyn to give him all Assistance in this Action.

Besides these, we have very many other Presumptions that the *Irish* since they found their own Strength, and that they were able to draw together so great Numbers of Men, as their several Septs so strangely Multiplied during the late Peace can now afford, have long had it in design to shake off the *English* Government, to settle the whole Power of the State in the Hands of the Natives, and to re-possess them of all the Lands now enjoyed by the *British* throughout the Kingdom: And that in this Plot they did but go about to actuate those confused general Notions, and to put them in a way of Execution. Now they supposed there could never be offered unto them a fairer Opportunity then this most unhappy conjuncture of the Affairs of *Great Britain*, when *Scotland* lately in Arms, had by their own proper and wise Managements, drawn His Majesty to condescend to their entire Satisfaction, as well in their Church Discipline as the Liberties of that Kingdom. And in *England*, the Distractions being grown up to some height, thro' the great Mis-understanding betwixt the King and the Parliament, *Ireland* was at this time left naked and unregarded, the Government in the Hands of the Justices, the old Army dispersed in places of so great Distance, as it could be of little Advantage, the Common Soldiers most of them *Irish*, and all the old Commanders and Captains, except some few, worn out and gone: This, as the first Plotters thought, was the Time to Work out their own Ends; and Masking their perfidious Designs under the Publick pretence of Religion, and the Defence of His Majesty's Prerogative, they let loose the Reins of their own vindictive humour and irreconcilable hatred to their *British* Neighbours.

The *Irish* have had it long in design to shake off the *English* Government.

I will not perfume to say, they knew what would fall out in *England*, or what miserable Embroilments that Kingdom was ready to break out into; for undoubtly the first Plot was laid, and most exactly formed, many Months before the War broke out between the King and His People. But this much I shall be bold to affirm, that upon the very first breaking out of this Rebellion, they did strangely Conjecture, and beyond all appearance of Reason, even somewhat positively Divine, of the dismal Breach and fearful Distempers which afterwards follow'd to the disabling of the Kingdom of *England* from applying Remediestowards the Reducement of *Ireland*. For the Attestation of this truth, I could produce the General Concurrence of several Circumstances, many private Discourses, and Advertisements, as also a Particular Letter which I had long by me, written as it seems, from a very Intelligent Papist, a great Zealot in the Cause, unto a Nephew of Sir *Toby Matthew's*, then in *Dublin*, who tho' lately Converted, retained yet a great Friendship among them.

He tells him in the Beginning of the Letter; *That he was desired from some well wishing Friends, to advise him as he tendered his Safety and Security, upon the Sight of those, instantly to forsake and abandon that Troublesome and most Unfortunate Kingdom, for God and Man had speedily Resolved to afflict and Punish the over-grown Impieties of these Prophane Times, all Hearts and Hands happily Conspiring to it; and that he should be as speedy in his Passage as was possible, and rather, as the Case stood, hazard all Dangers by Sea, then the least at Land, to be sure not to stop in England, especially at London, that Sink of Sin (as he calls it) and center of disorders, for by that time he arrived there, he should be sure to find nothing but Trouble, Factions and desperate Distempers; that he should dispatch therefore for Paris, or rather Brussels, where there should be order taken for the removal of all mistakes betwixt him and his Uncle.* This Letter was written about the Beginning of November, 1641. which was some few Days after the breaking out of this Rebellion, and full six Months before the taking up of Arms in *England*.

The Plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland* first discovered to the Lord *Mac-Guire* and others, about the time of

Now for the very time when this great Plot received its first form, though I conceive it of somewhat a more ancient Date, yet by all the Examinations I have hitherto seen, I can carry it up no higher then the Month of *January*, 1640. and that it was about that time Communicated to some of the Chief Gentlemen of *Ulster* the Lord *Mac-Guire* doth sufficiently testify as well in the Relation written with his own Hand in the Tower, and delivered by him by to Sir *John Coniers*, then Lieutenant, to be presented to the Lords in Parliament,

as also in his Examination taken before the Lord *Lambert* and Sir *Robert Meredith* in *Ireland*, *March* 26th, 1642. In both these he acknowledged, that he being in *Dublin*, in *Candlemas* Term, about the time when Mr. *John Bellem* came out of *England* with the Commission for the continuance of the Parliament in *Ireland*; *Roger Moor* acquainted him, that if the *Irish* would rise, they might make their own Conditions for the regaining of their Lands, and Freedom of their Religion; and further saith, that he had spoken with sundry of *Leinster* to that purpose, who would be ready to join with them, as likewise a good part of *Connaught*, and that he found all of them willing thereto, if so be they could drawn to them the Gentlemen of *Ulster*.

Mr. *John Bellem*'s return out of *England*, with Commission to continue the Parliament in *Ireland*, which was in *Jan.* 1640.

Now for the manner of putting this Plot in Execution, the said Lord *Mac-Guire*, doth further testify in his Relation aforesaid, that the said *Roger Moor* having the next Day acquainted *Philip O Rely*, *Turlagh O Neal* Brother to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, Mr. *Cosloe*, and *Mac-Mahon* herewith, did propose, that first every one should endeavour to draw his own Friends into that Act, at least those that did live in one County with them, and that when they had so done, they should send for the *Irish* in the *Low Countries* and in *Spain*, to let them know of the Day and Resolution, so that they might be over with them by that Day, or soon after with a Supply of Arms and Munition, that there should be a set Day appointed, and every one in his own Quarters should rise on that Day, and Seize upon all the Arms he could get in his own County, and this Day to be near Winter, so that *England* could not be able to send Forces into *Ireland*, before *May*, and by that time there was no doubt to be made, but that they themselves would be Supplied by the *Irish* from beyond the Seas. Then he told them further, that there was no doubt to be made of the *Irish* joyning with them, and that all the doubt was in the Gentlemen of the *Pale*; but he said, for his own part he was really assured, that when they had risen out, the *Pale* Gentlemen would not stay long after, at least they would not oppose any thing; and that in case they did, that they had Men enough in the Kingdom without them: Moreover, that he had spoken to a great Man (who then should be Nameless) who would not fail at the Day appointed, to appear and to be seen in the Act, but that till then he was Sworn not to reveal him, but yet that upon their importunity, he afterwards told them, it was the Lord of *Mayo*, who was very Powerful in the Command of Men in those parts of *Connaught*, where he lived: He further saith, that in Lent following, Mr. *Moor*, according to his

promise, came into *Ulster*, but that nothing was done there, but all Matters put off till *May* following, where they met at *Dublin*, it being both Parliament and Term time, and that from thence they dispatched one *Tooly Conley*, a Parish Priest to Mr. *Moor*, to Colonel *O Neal*, in the *Low-Countries*, who within few Months after arrived with this Answer from the said Colonel desiring them not to delay any time in rising out, but to let him know of the Day when they intended it, and that he would not fail to be with them within fourteen Days of that Day, with good aid, also desiring them by any means to Seize on the Castle of *Dublin* if they could. And further he saith, that during the time of these their private meetings there Landed at *Dublin*, Colonel *Brin*, Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Brion O Neal*, and others, who came with Directions to carry Men away, and that these were acquainted with the Plot, and did offer their Service to bring it on, and that they would raise their Men under Colour to carry them into *Spain*, and then Seize on the Castle of *Dublin*, and with the Arms found there, Arm their Soldiers, and have them ready for any Action that should be Commanded them. He further also saith, that they had divers private Consultations about the carrying on of the Conspiracy not only at *Dublin*, but in several other places in the Province of *Ulster*, that they had sat down several Days for the putting of it in Execution, but meeting with some Obstacles did not come to conclude of the certain time till about the Beginning of *September*, and that then they Peremptorily Resolved on the 23d of *October*, for the Day to Execute this long designed Plot in; and that they had respect unto the Day of the Week, which did fall on Saturday being the Market-Day on which there would be less Notice taken of People up and down the Streets; that they then settled what Numbers of Men should be brought up out of the several Provinces for the Surprize of the Castle and what Commanders should lead them on, that seeing the Castle had two Gates, that the *Leinster* Men should undertake to Seize upon the little Gate, which lay nearest to the place where the Arms and Munition was placed; and that the great Gate should be undertaken by those of *Ulster*, and that Sir *Phelim O Neal* should be there in Person; but that he excus'd himself, because he Resolved at the same time to Seize upon *Londonderry*, and that thereupon by the Importunity of the undertakers, it was impos'd upon him the said Lord *Mac-Guire*, to be therein Person at the taking of the Castle of *Dublin*. That it was further Resolved what Numbers of Forces should be brought up out of the other Provinces, to make good those places if possessed by them, and that Sir *James Dillon* did undertake to be there with

with 1000 Men within four Days after the taking of the Castle; as also that it was Resolved that every one privy to that Matter in every part of the Kingdom, should rise out that Day and Seize on all the Forts and Arms in the several Counties; as likewise on all the Gentry, and make them Prisoners, the more to assure themselves against any adverse Fortune and not to kill any but where of Necessity they should be forced thereunto by Opposition. These particulars, together with many other Circumstances very considerable, are set down in the Relation given in by the Lord *Mac-Guire*, while he remained Prisoner in the Tower of *London*; but I have thought fit to forbear to relate them at large, because I find that Relation published by Authority, and so presented to the Common view. We shall find also, that *Mac-Mahon* in his Examination, taken when he was first apprehended by the Lords Justices and Council here, doth testify that all the Chief of the Nobility and Gentry in this Kingdom were acquainted with the first Plot, and particularly, that all the Popish Party in the Committee sent into *England*, as likewise in both Houses of Parliament knew of it: In the Examination of *William Fitz-Gerald*, it is there affirmed. That Sir *Phelim O Neal* sending for him five Days after his rising in Arms, told him, what he did was by Directions and Consent of the Prime Nobility and Gentry of the whole Kingdom; and that what he had done in the Northren parts, the same was Executed at *Dublin*, and in all other Forts and Towns throughout *Ireland*: As being a Course Resolved upon among the Lords and Gentry, for the Preservation of His Majesties Prerogative, their own Religion and Liberties, against the Puritan Faction in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*: And that the Lord of *Gormanstown* knew of this Plot while he was in *England*, is Testified by Lieutenant Colonel *Read* in his Examination, as also by the Lord *Mac-Guire* in his Relation, who saith that Colonel *Plunket*, told him, that he being at *London*, had acquainted some of the *Irish* Committee, and particularly the Lord of *Gormanstown*, with this Plot, and that they approved it well: Colonel *Plunket*, in his Letter to Father *Patrick Barnwal*, Lord Abbot of *Mellifont* (as he styles him) doth seem much to glory in the means he had used to incite the Lords and Gentry of the *Pale* to appear in that Blessed cause (as he terms it) and assures him that the Lord of *Gormanstown*, whom he calls Lord General, will go bravely on.

And now it will be no difficult matter to resolve what were the secondary steps and motions of this great Plot, as well as by what Persons it was wrought out in *Ireland*, and carried on to the very point

The first contrivers of the Rebellion did not first openly appear in it.

of Execution. And first it is to be observed that howsoever Sir *Phelim O Neal*, the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, Colonel *Mac-Brian*, *Hugh Mac-Mahon* and their Adherents, chief of the *Irish* Septs in *Ulster*, and other Counties near adjacent, did first appear upon the Stage and by their Bloody Execution, notoriously declared themselves chief Actors in this horrid Tragedy: Yet this Rebellion was either altogether not originally Plotted by them, most of them had but subordinate Notions of it, and they as other of the chief Nobility and Gentry throughout the Kingdom, had several parts assigned them to act at several times, in several places, and did but move according to the first Resolutions taken, and such Directions as they had received from the first Conspirators: I take it to be most probable, after the general Plot came to be reduced into form, that as the Lord of *Gormanstown* was one of the first and chief movers in it, so he and the Chief of the *Pale* joyned together to draw in (as they had done in all former Rebellions) the Principal Septs of the old *Irish* to engage themselves, and to appear first in the Business: And after they had joyned together, and so finely order'd the matter, as they had made it a General rising, as Sir *Phelim O Neal* terms it, of all the Catholics throughout the Kingdom with the General consent of the Prime Nobility and Gentry thereof; then, as it were with one General voice, they sounded forth from all the four Provinces of *Ireland* the same Language, they used the same Remonstrances, and made the very same pretences for their Justification, they began the very self-same course, first in Stripping, then banishing and Murdering the *British* and Protestants, only in the North, they drove on some what more furiously, and spilt much more innocent Blood, then in any of the other three Provinces: They agreed likewise in recalling their Commanders, all the four Provinces had their particular Emissaries abroad: Those of *Leinster* brought back Colonel *Preston*, a Branch out of the House of *Gormanstown*, who had long lived with good Reputation in *Flanders*, and him they made General of their Forces there; but of *Ulster* they sent into *Flanders* likewise for *Owen Roe O Neal*, upon whom they conferred the same charge in that Province: The *Munster* Men brought over *Garrat Barry*, whom they made General of their Forces: And those of *Connaught* drew back one of the *Burks*, to whom they gave the Chief Command of such Men as they were able to draw together for the Advancement of the Common design: All these held a due Correspondency, and in all their Actions had a just Concurrence towards the Main end.

The great Instrument chiefly employed in this Work of drawing the meer *Irish* into a firm Combination with the old *English* (as appears by the Lord *Mac-Guire's* Relation before mentioned) was *Roger Moor* Esq; a Person of broken Fortune, by descent meerly *Irish*, and issued out of the Chief Family of the *O Moors* in the County of *Leax*, but by inter-Marriages allied to some of the Principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*; He Treated with them about the Association; he first broke the Design to the Northren *Irish*, he was the Man that made several Journeys in *Leinster* into *Ulster* and *Connaught*: Sundry Messages were interchangeably sent and returned the Summer before the breaking out of the Rebellion by his means and entercourse between them, And all things were so ordered for their Agreement, as they were to go Hand and Hand together; some of the Principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, and others, were designed to joyn with the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Mac-Machon*, *Brion O Neal*, *Con O Neal*, *Hugh Brin*, for the Surprize of his Majesty Castle of *Dublin*. *Cartan Major Domi* to *Owen O Neal* in *Flanders*, in his Examination taken *February* 1641. tells, among many other remarkable Passages, of several preparatives to this Rebellion; as that *Con O Neal*, Brother to *Daniel O Neal*, was sent by *Owen O Neal* into *England*, and that while he resided there he received Letters from the President *Rosse* (which was *Sir Phelim O Neal*) and that he assured him he went on very well in his Business; for *Brabant* and *Valence* were joyned together, which as he affirms signified in those Characters *Ulster* and *Leinster*, and that he expected the coming of *Lewis Lenoy*, viz. *Daniel O Neal*: Besides, as *James Talbot* Esq; testifies in his Letter of the 9th of *November*, 1641. written to the Lords Justices out of the County of *Cavan*, that he understood from *Philip Mac-Mulmore O Rely*, that there were certain Covenants passed between the Lords of the *Pale* and the Northren *Irish*, for the Advancing of the Rebellion; and that the Remonstrance from the Principal *Irish* in the County of *Cavan*, into the Lords Justices and Council sent by *Dean Jones*, and *Mr. Waldrone*, there then Prisoners, was fram'd in the *Pale* and brought unto the said *Irish* by Colonel *Plunket*, one of their own: And this was the very Beginning of the Rebellion, long before any Jealousies were entertained by the State of the Adherence or Conjunction of the old *English* with the *Irish*. What those Covenants or contracts were, I cannot say, but it is most certain, some there were, and some Covenants also entered into between the Northren *Irish*, and the Lords and Gentlemen of the Chief of both the other Provinces, as well as *Leinster*, and these were signed with their Blood, as Doctor

Roger Moor
the chief Person
employed
to make a con-
junction be-
tween the
meer Irish and
the English
for raising a
Rebellion.

Maxwell

Maxwell testifies in his Examination, he heard Sir *Phelim O Neal* say on the 19th of *December 1641* in his own House, and in the hearing of Mr. *Joseph Travers* and others: If the Lords and Gentlemen (meaning the Papists of other Provinces) then not in Arms, would not arise, but leave him in the Lurch for all, he would produce his Warrant, signed with their own Hands and written in their own Blood which should bring them to the Gallows. And certainly, had there not been some very strange and Extraordinary Engagements, and more then I can well imagine, it had not been possible that so many Persons of Quality, having great Possessions and many Children, should have declared themselves, after they saw the Main part of the Plot for the Surprize of the Castle of *Dublin* to fail, and the Power of the Northern Rebels begin to decline, that the Parliament of *England* had with great alacrity and readiness undertaken the War, and not only engaged themselves to his Majesty to send over powerful Supplies both out of *England* and *Scotland* but by their publick Order of both Houses, sent over to the Lords Justices, and Printed at *Dublin* in the Month of *November*; fully declared their Resolutions for the Vigorous Prosecution of the War of *Ireland*? Nay the Cities of *Galway* and *Limerick*, kept their Designs very covertly, not doing any open acts of Hostility till after the Arrival of some Forces at *Dublin* out of *England*, and that the Siege of *Drogheda* or *Tredagh* was raised, and those bold perfidious Traitors beaten back into the North, the Lords of the *Pale* banished by force of his Majesty's Arms out of their own Habitations, which were all Spoiled and laid waste.

Now that then they should declare themselves, is more then a Miracle to me, and such a Mystery, as I should not know what to think of but that I find in the Lord *Mac-Guire's* Relation before mentioned, that they were acquainted with the first Beginnings of this great Plot, and had a Particular Interest from time to time in the Carriages of it on, so as I think I shall not wrong them positively to determine, that they were too deeply engaged slightly to retire; and that howsoever upon the failing of it in the Main Piece, they at first stood at a Gaze, and were put to take up second Councils; yet such was the Strength of the Conspiracy, and their great Confidence in the Power of their Arms, as made them appear in due time to entertain their several Assignations, and Act their parts with great diligence and industry. The Wife of *Philip O Reily* in the County of *Cavan* told *James Talbot* (as he openly related it to the Lords Justices at the Council-Board) that she wondred very much the Lords and Gentleman of the *Pale* did not rise and joyn with them in the very Beginning of this Re-

Rebellion, adding these Words, or to this Effect; *That if they would have let us alone, and not set us on, we were so well at ease as we would never have begun this troublesome Work,* It cannot certainly be imagined, that those of the *English Pale* (unless they had been the first Projectors, or deep Adventurers) would have yielded that the meer *Irish* should have Seized upon the City and Castle of *Dublin*, Places of refuge for them in all former Troubles, and which would now have given them Protection and Safety against the Incursions of the *Irish*.

But I hold it not necessary to produce further evidence in this particular; I purpose now to declare how those great Instruments of Mischief, that were the Supream Conductors of this Wicked design, mov'd forwards so successfully in the Beginning, towards the Accomplishment of their long intended Extirpation of all the *British* and Protestants out of the Kingdom. I find two sorts of Persons who did most eminently appear in laying those main Fundamentals whereupon their Bloody Superstructures were afterwards easily reared up: And these were such of the Popish Lawyers as were Natives of the Kingdom, and those of the Popish Clergy of several Degrees and Orders. For the first, they had in Regard of their knowledge in the Laws of the Land, very great Reputation and trust, they now begun to stand up like great Patriots for the Vindication of the Liberties of the Subjects, and redress of their pretended Grievances, and having by their bold appearing therein, made a great Party in the House of Commons, here then Sitting, some of them did there Magisterially obtrude, as undoubted Maxims of Law, the Pernicious Speculations of their own Brain, which though plainly discerned to be full of virulency, and tending to Sedition, yet so strangely were many of the Protestants and well meaning Men in the House, blinded with an Apprehension of Ease and Redress, and so Stupified with their bold Accusations of the Government, as most thought not fit, others durst not stand up to Contradict their fond Assertion; so as what they spoke was received with great Acclamation, and much Applause by most of the Protestant Members of the House; many of which under Specious pretences of publick Zeal to this Country, they had inveigled into their Party: And then it was, that having Impeached Sir *Richard Bolton*, Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, of High-Treason together with other Prime Officers and Ministers of State that were of *English* Birth, some of those great Masters took upon them with much confidence to declare the Law, to make new Expositions of their own upon the Text, to frame their *Queries*, Challenges fitter to be taken to a long, wilful, over-grown Misgovernment, then to be made a-

gainst

The Romish Clergy and the Popish Lawyers great Instruments in the first Plotting and carrying on the Rebellion.

The Irish Lawyers draw a great party in the House of Commons to adhere to them.

gainst an Authority, that had for many Years struggled against the beloved irregularities of a Stubborn People, and which had prevailed far beyond former times, towards the allaying of the long continued Distempers of the Kingdom: They disdain the Moderate Qualifications of the Judges, who gave them modest answers, such as the Law and Duty to their Sovereign would admit. But those would not serve their turn, they resolved upon an Alteration in the Government, and drawing of it wholly into the Hands of the Natives, which they knew they could not compass in a Parliamentary way, and therefore only made Preparatives there, and delivered such desperate Maxims, which being diffused Abroad would fit and dispose the People to a Change: As they declared it to be Law, That being killed in Rebellion, though found by Matter of Record, would give the King no Forfeiture of Estates: That though many Thousands stood up in Arms in a Kingdom, working all manner of Destruction yet if they professed not to rise against the King, that was no Rebellion: That if a Man were Out-law'd for Treason, and his Land thereby Vested in the Crown or given away by the King, his Heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverse the Out-lawry, and recover his Ancestors Estate. And many other Positions of a Perilous Consequence, tending to Sedition and Disturbance, did they continue to publish during that Session, and by the Power and Strength of their Party, so far did they prevail at last, as they presumed to attempt a Suspension of *Poyning's* Act, and indeed intended the utter Abrogation of that Statute, which remains as one of the greatest Ties and best Monuments the *English* have of their intire Dominion over the *Irish* Nation, and the Anexion of that Kingdom to the Imperial Crown of *England*. They further assumed Power of Judicature to the Parliament in Criminal and Capital Offences: A right which no former Age hath left any President for, neither would this admit the Example.

And thus carrying all things before them, they continued the Session of Parliament begun in *May*, till about two Months before the first breaking out of this Rebellion; it being very ill taken, that even then they were Adjourned. And this they have since aggravated as a high Crime against the Lords Justices, and as one of the Chief moving causes to the taking up of Arms generally throughout the Kingdom.

But to let those things pass, how finely soever these proceedings were carried on, and being covered over with pretences of Zeal and publick Affection, passed then currant without any Manner of Suspicion;

cion; yet now the Eyes of all Men are opened, and they are fully Resolved that all these Passages, together with the other high Contestations in Parliament, not to have the Newly raised *Irish* Army disbanded, the importunate Solicitation of their Agents in *England*, to have the old Army in *Ireland* Cashiered, and the Kingdom left to be defended by Trained Bands of their own Nation. As likewise the Commissions procured by several of the most Eminent Commanders now in Rebellion, for the raising Men to carry into *Spain*, were all Parts of this Plot, Prologues to this ensuing Tragedy, Preparatives, such as had been long laid to bring on the sudden Execution of this most Bloody design all at one and the same time throughout the Kingdom.

Now for the Jesuits, Priests, Fryers, and all the Rest of the Viperous Fraternity belonging to the Holy Orders; who, as I said, had a Main part to Act, and have not failed with great Affiduity and diligence to discharge the same. They lost no time, but most Dexterously applied themselves in all Parts of the Country to lay such other Dangerous Impressions in the Minds, as well of the Meaner Sort as of the Chief Gentlemen as might make them ready to take Fire upon the first Occasion. And when this Plot was so surely, as they thought, laid, as it could not well fail, and the Day once prefixed for Execution, they did in their publick Devotions long before recommended by their Prayers, the good Success of a great Design, much tending to the Prosperity of the Kingdom, and the Advancement of the Catholick Cause. And for the facilitating of the Work, and Stirring up the People with greater Animosity and Cruelty to put it on at the time prefixed, they loudly in all Places declaimed against the Protestants, telling the People that they were Hereticks, and not to be suffered any longer to Live among them; that it was no more Sin to kill an *Englishman*, than to kill a Dog; and that it was a most Mortal and unpardonable Sin to relieve or protect any of them. Then also they represented with much Acramony the severe Courses taken by the Parliament in *England*, for the Suppressing the Romish Religion in all Parts of the Kingdom, and utter Extirpation of all professors of it. They told the People that in *England* they had caused the Queens Priest to be Hanged before her own Face, and that they held Her Majesty in her own Person under a most severe Discipline: That the same cruel Laws against Popery were here ordered to be put suddainly in Execution; and a Design secretly laid for bringing and Seizing upon all the Principle Noblemen and Gentleman in *Ireland* upon the 23d of *November* next ensuing, and so to make a General

The means used by the Priests and Jesuits to stir up the People to Rebel.

The IRISH Rebellion.

Massacre of all that would not desert their Religion and presently become Protestants.

The Irish revive their ancient Animosities against the English.

And now also did they take Occasion to revive their inveterate hatred and ancient Animosities against the *English* Nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard Masters; under whose Government, how pleasant, Comfortable and Advantageous soever it was, they would have the World believe they had endured a most Miserable Captivity and envasalage. They looked with much envy upon their Prosperity, considering all the Land they possessed (though a great part bought at high Rates of the Natives) as their own proper Inheritance. They grudged at the great Multitudes of their fair *English* Cattle; at their goodly Houses, though Built by their own industry at their own Charges at the large Improvements they made of their Estates, by their own Travells and careful Endeavours. They spake with much Scorn and Contempt of such as brought little with them into *Ireland*, and having there Planted themselves, in a little time contracted great Fortunes: They were much troubled, especially in the *Irish* Countries to see the *English* live Handsomely, and to have every thing with much decency about them, while they lay Nastily Buried, as it were, in Mire and Filthiness; the ordinary Sort of People commonly bringing their Cattle into their own stinking Creates, and their naturally delighting to lie among them. These malignant Considerations made them with an envious Eye impatiently to look upon all the *British* lately come over into the Kingdom. Nothing less then a General Extirpation will now serve their turn, they must have Restitution of all the Lands to the proper Natives, whom they take to be the ancient Proprietors, and only true owners, most unjustly despoiled by the *English*, whom they hold to have made undue Acquisitions of all the Land they possess by gift from the Crown, upon the Attainder of any of their Ancestors.

The ends proposed by the first Plotters of the Rebellion.

And so impetuous were the desires of the Natives to draw the whole Government of the Kingdom into their own Hands, to enjoy the publick Profession of their Religion, as well as to disburden the Country of all the *British* Inhabitants seated therein, as they made the whole Body of the State to be universally disliked; represented the several Members as Persons altogether Corrupt and ill affected; pretended the ill humours and Distempers in the Kingdom to be grown to that height as required Canteriers, deep Incisions; and indeed nothing able to Work so great Cure but an universal Rebellion. This was certainly the Disease, as appears by the Symptoms, and the joynt Concurrence in Opinion of all the great Physicians that held

held themselves Wise enough to propose Remedies, and prescribe fit Applications to so desperate a Malady. In those Instructions privately sent over into *England* by the Lord *Dillon* of *Costeloz*, presently after the breaking out of the Rebellion, the Alteration of the Supream Power in the Government and setting of it in the Hands of the Earl of *Ormonde*, giving leave to the Grand Council of the Kingdom to remove such Officers of State, as they thought fit, and to recommend Natives to their Places, were there positively laid down to be a more likely means to appease these Tumults then a considerable Army. In the Remonstrance of the County of *Longford*, presented about the same time to the Lord Justices, by the same Lord *Dillon*, as also in the frame of the Common-Wealth, found at Sir *John Dungars* House, not far from *Dublin*, and sent up thither out of *Connaught* to be Communicated to those of *Leinster*; Pieces which publickly appeared soon after the breaking out of the Rebellion, the Main points insisted upon in them and several others were the Restauration of the Publick Profession of the Romish Religion; Restitution of all the Plantation-Lands unto the Natives, and Settlement of the present Government in their Hands. All the Remonstrances from several Parts, and that came out of the several Provinces of the Kingdom to concur in these Propositions, with very little or no Difference. And therefore that the desires with the first Intentions of those who are now in Rebellion, may more clearly appear; I have thought fit here to insert them as I found them, Methodically digested into certain Propositions, termed.

The true causes of the Rebellion.

The Means to reduce this Kingdom unto Peace and Quietness.

1. **T**HAT a General and free Pardon without Exception be granted to all His Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom; and that in pursuance thereof, and for Strengthening the same, an Act of Abolition may pass in the Parliament here.

2. That all marks of National Distinctions between the English and Irish may be abolished and taken away by Act of Parliament.

3. That by several Acts of Parliament to be respectively passed here and in England, it being declared that the Parliament of Ireland hath no Subordination with the Parliament of England, but that the same hath in it self Supream Jurisdiction in this Kingdom, as Absolute as the Parliament of England there hath.

The IRISH Rebellion.

4. That the Act of the 12th Henry the Second, commonly called Poynings Act, and all other Acts expounding or explaining the same, may be repealed.

5. That as in England there pass an Act for the Triennial Parliament, there may pass in Ireland another for a Sexennial Parliament.

6. That it may be enacted by Parliament, that the Act of the 2d. of Queen Elizabeth in Ireland; and all other Acts made against Catholics, or the Catholick Religion, since the Twentieth Year of King Henry the Eighth may be repealed.

7. That the Bishopricks, Deaneries, and all other Spiritual Promotions of this Kingdom, and all Frieries and Nunneries, may be restored to the Catholick owners, and likewise all Improvements of Tyths, and that the Scits, Ambits, and Precincts of the Religious Houses of the Monks, may be restored to them; but as to the Rest of the Temporal Possessions, it is not designed to be taken from the present Proprietors, but to be left to them until God shall otherwise incline their own Hearts.

8. That such as are now Entitled Catholick Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Abbots, or other Dignitaries in this Kingdom by Donation of the Pope, may, during their Lives, enjoy their Spiritual Promotions; with Protestation nevertheless, and other fit Clauses to be laid down for Preservation of His Majesties Rights of Patronages, First-Fruits, and Twentieth-parts in manner and quantity, as now His Highness receives benefit thereby.

9. That all Inquisitions taken since the Year 1634. to Entitle His Majesty to Connaught, Thomond, Ormond, Eliogarty, Kilnemanagh, Duheara, Wicklow and Idvagh, may be vacated, and their Estates secured, according to His Majesties late Graces.

10. That an Act of Parliament may pass here for the securing the Subjects Title to their several Estates against the Crown, upon any Title accrewed unto it before Sixty Years, or under Colour or pretext of the present Commotions.

11. That all Plantations made since the Year 1610. may be avoid by Parliament, if the Parliament shall hold it just, and their Possessions restored to them or their Heirs, from whom the same were taken, they nevertheless answering to the Crown the Rents and Services proportionable, reserved upon the undertakers.

12. That the Transportation of all Native Commodities to all Places of the World in Peace with His Majesty, may be free and Lawful, His Customs first paid, and that the Statutes of 10th, 11th, and 12th, of Queen Elizabeth, for restraining the Exportation of Native Commodities be repealed.

13. That

13. That all perferments Ecclesiastical, Civil and Martial in this Kingdom, that lie in His Majesties Gift, may be conferred on Natives of this Kingdom only, such as His Majesty shall think meet, without any Distinction for Religion, Provided always that upon the Princes of His Blood of England, He may bestow what Places He shall think meet.

14. That a Marshal and Admiral of this Kingdom may be Elected in it, to have perpetual Succession therein with the same Prebeminence, Authority and Jurisdiction as they respectively have in England, and that the said Places be ever conferred upon Noble Men, Natives of this Kingdom.

15. That there may be Trained Bands in all Cities, Towns Corporate, and Counties, of this Kingdom, Armed and provided at the Charge of the severall Counties, Cities, and Towns, and Commanded by the Natives of the same, who shall be Named by the Counties, Cities and Towns respectively.

16. That His Majesty may release all Tenures in Capite, and by Knight-Service; Consideration whereof, He shall receive a Settled Revenue of 12000*l.* per Annum, being double the Sum which He casually receives by them; Reliefs, Seisines, Licenses for Alienations, Escuage and Aids nevertheless to remain.

17. That all Monopolies may be for ever taken away by Act of Parliament.

18. That such new Corporations, as have not the Face of Corporate Towns, and were erected to give Voices in the Parliament, may be Dissolved, and their Votes taken away, and hereafter no such to be admitted to Voices in Parliament.

19. That there may be Agents Chosen in Parliament, or otherwise, as thought meet to attend continually His Majesty, to represent the Grievances of this Nation, that they may be removable by such as did Elect them; and in Case of Death or Removance, others may be for ever Successively Substituted in that Place, and that such Agents may enjoy the freedom of their Conscience in Court, and every where else.

These are the Means proposed by these Catholick Remonstrances for reduciug of the Kingdom to Peace; these the great Obstructions they would have removed, and the constant Council they would have followed, in settling the Tranquility, and present Government of this Land; so as we need seek no further Evidence, nor make any more curious enquiries into the Secret causes of their first rising: We have here enough out of their own Mouths, to resolve the most Scrupulous Unbeliever of their first Motives in this Rebellion. And now

The re-establishment of the Romish Religion, only a pretence for the Rebellion.

now for the Matter of Religion, howsoever I am very confident they ever really intended the Re-establishment of that of the Church of *Rome*, with all the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, together with the utter Extirpation of all the Reformed Profession: Yet considering the large indulgence, and free Liberty they universally enjoyed at that time, in the full Exercise of that their Religion throughout all the Parts of the Kingdom; it may be most justly suspected (how Zealously soever they now obtrude it) that this was only the bare outward coverture made use of by the Principal Undertakers, to draw on a Poor ignorant Superstitious People to sacrifice their Lives in this Quarrel. Neither can it by any reasonable Man be ever presumed, that such Persons as made no Conscience of committing Treason, so many cruel Murders, and all other kind of abominable Villanies, not to be paralleld in any other Country, could be drawn merely out of Conscience towards God, to act these for the regaining of the free and publick Profession of their Religion.

All the grievances of the Kingdom redressed before the Rebellion brake out.

This certainly was no more the true and main Cause of their taking up Arms, then the redress of their pretended Grievances, whereunto his Majesty had Condescended, and out of his Inclinations for their present Relief, had given much more satisfaction to their Agents lately in *England*, then ever they could in any other time expect to receive or hope to enjoy. Yet we see how little effect those great Graces brought over not above two Months before this Rebellion broke out, took among them: For presently after the return of their Agents with them, this most Detestable Conspiracy, which had been long in hatching began to Work, and to be put in Execution. And if we shall consider their main design and chief ends therein, as they appear in their first Principles, or will give Credit to the several Speeches and Passages that we meet with among the Rebels, in the very beginning of their breaking out; as also to several other Testimonies that have since privately fallen from some particular Persons among them, we must believe that their Design clearly was to Destroy and Root out all the *British* and *Protestants* planted within this Kingdom, to cut off the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*, and so to deliver themselves from their long continued Subjection to the *English* Nation.

But to come to one main particular, taken into debate by the prime Movers and chief Incendiaries in this horrid Rebellion, they had a most serious Consultation what Course to take with most safety to themselves, for the disburdening of the Kingdom of those multitudes of *English*, which were in very great numbers dispersedly planted among

A Consultation held, whether it will be

mong them. Some were of opinion that they should spare their best to murder, or only to banish all the British out of Ireland. Lives, not render themselves Guilty of the spilling of so much Innocent Blood, but that they should Seize on their Goods, Expel them their Habitations, and after Banishing them out of the Kingdom, proceed as the *Spaniards* did with many Hundred thousands of the *Moors*, whom, as it were in a moment, they cleared out of their Dominions. Others there were who much opposed this kind of lenity and moderation, remonstrating the high Inconveniencies which would inevitably redound to themselves thereby. First, That the *British* were in so great numbers, as they could not either by disarming, imprisoning, or any other means possible, ever hope to secure them from Mischief: Then that if they only expelled them out of the Kingdom, they would remain still as so many fit Instruments to be entertained in *England*, and from thence returned back full of revengefull thoughts to recover their losses; that by their long experience and knowledge in the Country they would be better guides, more deeply engaged to prosecute the War; and having their Bodies inured to this Climate, would prove much more able Soldiers than any new Men that could be raised, or any otherways brought over. How they determined this particular I shall not undertake to declare; my Intelligence fails me, and I am able to deliver no more of the result of this great Council than appears in the bloody effects and horrid executions acted in the first beginnings of their Rebellion. It is most probable they came to no positive Conclusion, but left the chief Actors in this particular at large, to do as should seem good to themselves. We find their first proceedings and outrages committed upon the *English* very various and much differing in several Places, some only stripping and expelling of them; others murdering Man, Woman and Child without Mercy. But this is certain, and of most unquestionable truth, that by one means or other, they resolved universally to Root all the *British* and *Protestants* out of *Ireland*. And that these were the first thoughts and bitter fruits of the long premeditated malicious intentions, sufficiently appears by their Actions, as well as by their virulent expressions uttered upon their first rising, when they thought the Kingdom their own. They then said openly that they meant to destroy the *English*, and that they had made a Covenant no *Englishman* should set footing among them. Some of the *Irish* would not endure the very sound of that Language, but would have penalties inflicted upon them that spoke *English*, and all the *English* Names of places changed into the old *Irish* Denominations. Others professed they would not leave an *English* Man or Woman.

The Irish in many places killed English Cows and Sheep meerly because they were English ; in some places they cut off their legs, or took out a piece out of their Buttocks and so let them remain still alive. The Lord Montgarrat, Master Edward Butler ; the Baron of Logmouth went with their Forces into Munster about the beginning of the rising of the Irish there, and while they remained about Callen and Mallow, they consumed no less then 50000, others say 100000 English Sheep, besides great abundance of English Cattle, and such as they could not eat, yet they killed and left in great Multitude, stinking, to the great Annoyance of the County. This is testified by Henry Champart in his Examination taken before Sir Robert Meredith Knight, &c.

James Show a Minister deposeth, That after the Cessation, divers of the Rebels confessed the Priests had given them the Sacrament, upon condition they should not spare Man, Woman nor Child that were Protestants ; and that he heard divers of them say in a bragging manner, that it did them a great deal of good to wash their hands in the blood of the Protestants whom they had slain: Jurat. Jan. 7. 1643.

Thomas Johnson Vicar of Tullah, of the County of Mayo, deposeth, that he heard Stephen Linoh Prior of Strade, being asked if it were not lawful to kill this Deponent because he would not go to Mass ; answered, That it was as lawful for them to kill him as to kill a Sheep or a Dog ; and divers of the rebellious Soldiers told him to his face, that they would no more care to kill him, then they would do a Pigg.

John Addis of the County of West-Meath deposeth, That Robert Magohagan Priest, said to this Deponent it was no more Pity nor Conscience to take Englishmens lives or Goods from them, then to take a bone out of a Dogs mouth, Jurat. July 21. 1642.

man alive in the Kingdom, but that all should be gone, no not so much as an *English* Beast, or any of the breed of them. *James Hallegan* the Priest, did read an Excommunication in the Church, which, as he alleged, came from their great *Irish* Metropolitan, and terrifying his Parishoners therewith he told them, that from that Day forth, whosoever did harbour or relieve any *Scot, English* or *Welshman*, or give them Alms at their doors, should be Excommunicated, whereby as *Master Sacheverel* testifies in his Examination many were starved and died for want in those parts. We have it from *Master Creighton*, a Reverend Minister, one long detained Prisoner within the County of *Cavan*, that the Fryers exhorted the People with tears to spare none of the *English* ; that the *Irish* were Resolved to destroy them out of the Kingdom ; that they would devour (as their very word was) the seed of the *English* out of *Ireland*, and when they had rid them there, they would go over into *England*, and not leave the Memorial of the *English* Name under Heaven.

And

And so fond and vain were their imaginations, and to such a height of madness were they grown, as they could not terminate their thoughts in the Reduction of *Ireland* under the Power of their own Nation. But as soon as they had begun their Rebellion there, they spoke confidently in all places of Transporting their Arms into *England*, That they would send 30000 Men over into that Kingdom, and that they would draw in Foreign Auxiliaries thither to join with them; and so by a high hand Establish the free Exercise of the *Romish* Religion within that Kingdom. A design certainly which the Priests and Jesuits had taken up in their own thoughts, and by their Correspondencies Abroad intended Powerfully to bring about, as soon as they had settled their Affairs in *Ireland*. And if it had not pleased God in an Extraordinary way to bring the first Plot to light, and so to Bless the Weak Endeavours of the State here, as to enable them by the Assistance of those small Forces they confusedly gathered together, to hold out till the Arrival of the Succours sent out of *England*, I leave it to every one to consider with how much Advantage they might have gone on that time towards the Accomplishment of so desperate a Project. And for my self, I must profess that I am clearly resolved, that had they at first over-Mastered the unexpected Difficulties and fatal Impediments they met withall at Home, and Possessed themselves of the Arms and Munition within the Castle of *Dublin*, and so Fleht and Blooded in the Slaughter of many Thousands of the *English* Nation, had Transported a Numerous Army of *Irish* Rebels, and suddenly Landed them in some good Port within the Kingdom of *England*: They would have prevailed very far towards the Miserable Desolation and Ruin thereof. It must be Remembered in what a most unhappy discomposure the Affairs were at that time there, what a Diseased Body the State then had, and what high Distempers then strongly Working soon after broke out, what a Strong Party they might have found within, and with what great Reputation they would have Marched on under the Glory of their late Victories Atchieved in *Ireland*, Signalizing the Power of their Arms with such Horrid Cruelties and Bloody Butcheries, as would have wrought a strange Terror among the People.

Thus we see what were the Causes and first Motives to this unnatural Rebellion; as likewise who were the Chief Actors and the great Instruments designed by the first Plotters to pre-dispose the People to a Readiness to take Arms for the Rooting out of the *British* Inhabitation from among them. The Preparatives being all made, the Plot in all points Ripe for Execution, it was carried on to the

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very

The English Goods presented to the Irish as a chief means to raise them up against them.

very Evening before the Day appointed for the taking of the Castle of *Dublin* without Discovery. And though it pleased God to bring it then to light (as hath been declared) and so happily to disappoint it in the Main Piece, yet it took in the Northren Parts, being that very Day fully Executed in most of the Chief Places of Strength within the Province of *Ulster*. And whereas the Priests did long before in their publick Devotions at Mass pray for a Blessing upon a great Design they had then in Hand? so now, as I have heard, they did in may Places, the very Day before the breaking out of this Rebellion, give the People a Dismiss at Mass, with free Liberty to go out, and take Possession of all their Lands, which they pretended, unjustly detained from them by the *English*; as also to Strip, Rob, and despoil them of all their Goods and Cattle. They had without doubt, by one means or other, either private or publick Instructions, not to leave to the *English* any thing that might afford the least Comfort or Hope of longer Subsistence among them. This was the main Bait used to draw on the Common People; and this wrought far more Powerfully then all other Perswasions, Fictions, or Wild *Chimera's* that they infused into them. It is most apparant, that the Prime Gentlemen in all Parts, as well as their Clergy, pressed them on to despoil the *English* of all the Goods and Cattle, well knowing their Avaricious Humour and Greedy desires to get them into their Possession, and that they could not possibly find out any other thing that would engage them more readily to undertake, or more desperately to Execute all manner of Villanies, then the Hopes of enjoying so Rich a Prey now presented unto them.

* The People made believe by their Priests that it was a Meritorious act to kill the English.

* The People being now set at Liberty and prepossessed by their Priests with a Belief that it was Lawful for them to rise up, and Destroy all the Protestants, who, they told them, were worse then Dogs; that they were Devils, and served the Devil; assuring them the killing of such was a Meritorious Act and a Rare preservative against

John Parry of Deurmoah, in the County of Armagh, deposeth, that O. Cullan a Priest, told his Auditors at Mass, that the Bodies of such as Died in this Quarrel, should not be cold before their Souls should ascend up into Heaven, and that they should be free from the Pains of Purgatory.

Margaret Bromly in Her Examination deposeth, that some of the Rebels would say, after their cruel Butcheries, that they knew if themselves should Die,

the Pains of Purgatory, gathered themselves together in great Numbers, Assembling in several Companies through the several Parts of the Northern Counties, with Staves, Sithes, and Pitch-Forks, for at first they had not many better Weapons. And so in a most confused

fufed manner, they began *their Souls fhould go to Heaven, and that they were*
 Tumultuoufly to drive away *glad of the Revenge they had taken of the Englifh.*
 at the firft only the Cattle
 belonging to the *Englifh*, and then to break into their Houfes, and *The Irish rife*
 Seize upon their Goods. It is true, there were fome Murders commit- *and firft drive*
 ted the very firft Day of their rifing, and fome Houfes fet on Fire, *away all the*
 but thefe as I conceive, were for the moft part out of private Spleen, *Cattle be-*
 or where they had particular Inftuctions fo to do as they had from *longing to the*
 the Lord Mac-Guire to kill Mr. Arthur Champion, a Juftice of *Englifh.*
 Peace in the County of *Fermanagh*, who with feveral of his Neigh-
 bours, were Murthered at his own Houfe, upon the 23d of *October*, in
 the Morning. But certainly that which they Mainly intended at firft,
 and which they moft bufily Employed themfelves about, was the
 driving away the *Englifhmens* Cattle, poffeffing their Goods: Where-
 in the Common People were not the only Aftors, but even the Chief *The Irish*
 Gentlemen of the *Irifh* in many Places, moft Notoriously appeared, and *Gentlemen*
 under plaufible pretences of Securing their Goods from the Rapine *poffefs them-*
 and Spoil of the Common Sort, got much Peaceably into their *felves of the*
 Hands: And fo confident were the *Englifh* of their good dealing at *Goods be-*
 firft, as many delivered their Goods by Re-tail unto them, gave them *longing to the*
 particular Inventories of all they had, nay digged up fuch of their *Englifh under*
 beft things as they had hidden under Ground, to depofite in their Cu- *pretence of fe-*
 ftody. Much likewise they got by fair promifes and deep Engage- *curing them.*
 ments to do them no further Mifchief, to fuffer them, their Wives,
 and Children quietly to retire and leave the Country: But others,
 and efpecially the Meaner Sort of People fell more rudely to Work,
 at the very firft, breaking up of their Houfes, and uſing all manner of
 Force and Violence, to make themſelves Maſters of their Goods.

And having thus Seized upon all their Goods and Cattle, Ran- *The next Act*
 ſackt their Houfes, gotten their Perſons under their Power the next *was to ſtrip*
 thing they did, was to Strip Man, Woman and Child, many of them *the Engliſh,*
 Stark Naked, and ſo to turn them out of their own Doors not per- *Man, Woman,*
 mitting them in ſome Places ſo much as to Shelter themſelves under *and Child,*
 Buſhes, or in the Woods, and ſtrictly Prohibiting all the *Irifh* under *ſtark naked,*
 great Penalties, to give them Entertainment, or any kind of Relief, *and to turn*
 as they paſſed on upon the High-ways. And certainly their Deſign in *them out of*
 this, moſt Notoriously appears to have been no other then that all ſuch *their own*
 as they would not lay their Hands upon, and cruelly Murder in cold *Doors. All*
 Blood might Miſerably Periſh of themſelves through Cold, Naked- *manner of re-*
 neſs and Want; and therefore as faſt as any of them ſo Striped got *lie forbidden*
 old Rags to cover their Nakedneſs, they Endeavoured to Strip them *to the Engliſh*
 again, *as they paſſed*

upon the
High-way
stripped and
despoiled of
all they had.

The manner
of stripping
the English.

The Miseries
and Mortality
it brought a-
mong them.

again, and again; as may appear by the Examination of *John Gourly*, who deposeth, that some were Striped twice, some thrice, as fast as they could get any old Rags to cover their Nakedness, the next *Irish* Woman, or even the Children that met them would take them off: And he and his Wife further depose, that when their House, together with the Town of *Armagh* were set on Fire by the Rebels, she was Striped of her Clothes seven several times after she got Clothes; and at length, they left her not so much as her Smock or Hair-lace, and that she got to a Place and hid herself in a Hutch for three or four Days, and after went to find out her Children, two of which had the Small Pox visibly upon them. *Jurat. Nov. 8th 1642.*

How infallibly this Course succeeded, and how surely they compassed their Devilish ends hereby, is but too well known: The *English* leaving sufficient Monuments in the High-ways as they passed, as well as in the Towns wherein they arrived, of the dismal Mortality it bred among them. And for the fuller Satisfaction of any one who shall doubt thereof, I have thought fit to insert these two ensuing Examinations.

James Redfern, of the County of *Londonderry*, Deposeth, That in the Town of *Colerain*, since the Rebellion began, there Died of Robbed and Striped People that fled thither for Succour, many Hundreds, besides those of the Town who had Anciently dwelt there, and that the Mortality there was such, and so great, as many Thousands Died there in two Days, and that the living, though scarce able to do it, laid the Carcase of those Dead Persons in great Ranks, into vast and wide Holes, laying them so close and thick, as if they had packed up Herrings together.

Magdalen Redman, late of the *Dowris* in the *Kings-County*, Widow being Sworn and Examined, deposeth and saith; that she this Deponent and divers other Protestants her Neighbours, and amongst the Rest Twenty two Widows, after they were all Robbed, were also Stript Stark Naked, and then they covering themselves in a House with Straw; the Rebels then and there lighted the Straw with Fire, and threw amongst them, on purpose to Burn them, where they had been Burned or Smothered, but that some of the Rebels more pittiful then the Rest, Commanded these cruel Rebels to forbear, so as they escaped: Yet the Rebels kept and drove them Naked into the Wild Woods, from *Tuesday* until *Saturday*, in Frost and Snow, so as the Snow unmelted long lay upon some of their Skins, and some of their Children died in their Arms: And when as the Deponent and the Rest Endeavoured to have gone away for Refuge to the *Burre*, the
cruel

cruel Rebels turned them again, saying, they should go towards *Dublin*; and when they Endeavoured to go towards *Dublin*, they hindered them again, and said, they should go to the *Burre*; and so tossed them too and fro: Yet at length, such of those Poor Striped People as Died not before they got away out of the Hands of the Rebels, escaped to the *Burre*, where they were Harboured and relieved by one *William Parsons Esq*; And yet there Died at the *Burre* of those Stript Persons, about Forty Men, Women and Children. And this Deponent and those other Stript People that survived, lived Miserably at the *Burre* aforesaid, until they with the Rest, had Quarter to come from thence to *Dublin*.

Jur. 7 March 1642.

Jab. Watson. Will. Aldrich.

Isabel, the Relict of *Christopher Porter*, late of *Dowris* in the *Kings-County*, Sworn and Examined, Deposeth and saith, in all the particulars above-mentioned as *Madgalen Redman* before Examined, being her Neighbour.

Some of the most Notorious Cruelties, and Barbarous Murthers Committed by the *Irish* Rebels, attested upon Oath, as they appear in several Examinations annexed in the Margin.

WE may in these Poor Souls, as it were in large Characters, behold the Miseries of all those Multitudes of Men, Women and Children, that were in all Parts of the Kingdom thus Inhumanly Stript, and so exposed to the same Want, Cold and Nakedness. The Mercies of the Wicked are cruel; how bitter was their Compassion to all those *British* that thus suffered? How Horrid, Barbarous, and Insupportable was the Commiseration they thus expressed towards them? Yet these were as they told them at first, but the Beginnings of their Sorrows: For when the Northern Rebels began to find their own Strength, and that partly by Treachery, partly by Force, they had Possessed themselves of all the Chief Places of Strength, in *Ulster*, Disarmed the *English*, Robbed them of their Goods and Cattle, Striped them of their Clothes, and had their Persons now under their Power, and, all this without any considerable Resistance made by them; then they could contain themselves no longer but in a most fierce Outragious manner, furiously broke out, acting in all Places of that Province, with most abominable Cruelty, those horrid Massacres and execrable Murders, as would make any Christian.

A particular Enumeration of several Bloody Massacres and Horrid Cruelties, exercised upon the *British*, all testified upon Oath, and taken out of several Examinations, which are inserted in the Margin.

ffian Ear to tingle at the sad Commemoration of them! Then they began to appear in their own Colours, and with great delight to satisfie their ancient implacable Malice, in their long wished and often Plotted Destruction of all the *British* Inhabitants. Within the County of *Fermanagh*, Multitudes were presently killed in cold Blood, some taken at the Plough, others as they sat Peaceably in their own Houses, others Travelling upon the Ways, all without any manner of Provocation by them given, suddenly Surprized and unexpectedly cut off. At the Castle of

Multitudes
killed in cold
Blood.

(1) Thomas Wenslaw and John Simson, of the County of *Fermanagh*, Gentlemen, depose and say, That in the Castle of *Lisgool*, there were 150 Men, Women and Children Burnt, or Smothered, when the said Castle was yet one Fire; not above two or three escaped, as appears in their Examination. Jurat. Jan. 12. Anno Dom. 1642.

(2) Thomas Wenslaw further deposeth, that at the Castle of *Moneah*, there were Ninety Protestants more Slain and Murthered: And that from the (3) Castle of *Moneah*, the Rebels Marched to the Castle of *Tullah*, where by their own Confession, they promised those Protestants that were there fair Quarters: But when they had delivered up their Arms and the Castle; those Rebels in the Bawn of the Castle, first Striped them all of their Cloths, and then, and there most Cruelly Murdered them.

Richard Bourk, Bachelour in Divinity, of the County of *Fermanagh* deposeth, that he heard and verily believeth the Burning and killing of one Hundred at least in the Castle of *Tullah*, and that the same was done after fair Quarter promised. Jurat. July, 12. 1643.

(4) Roury Mac-Guire, upon the 24th of October, 1641. came with his Company unto *Lissenskeah*, and desired in a Friendly manner to speak with Mr. Middleton, who had the keeping of the Castle. The first thing that he did, as soon as he was entered therein was to Burn the Records of the

(1) *Lisgool* within that County above 150 Men, Women and Children almost all consumed by Fire. At the Castle of (2) *Moneah*, near 100 *British* there Slain all together: And the same Bloody Company of Rebels were no sooner admitted into the Castle of (3) *Tullah*, which were delivered up into the Hands of Roury Mac-Guire, upon Composition, and faithful promise of fair Quarter, but that within the very Court they begun to Strip the People, and most Cruelly put them to the Sword, Murdering them all without Mercy. (4) At *Lissenskeah* they Hanged or otherwise killed above 100 Persons, most of them of the *Scotch* Nation; for after once they had the *English* in their Power, they spared none of them but used all the *Scots* with as much Cruelty as they did the *English*. This County was very well Planted by the *British* Undertakers, and all of them and their

their Tenants in a very short space after most Horrible manner quite Destroyed, or utterly banished from their Habitations. In the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, where the *British* were much more Numerous, and *Sir Phelim O Neal*, and his Brother *Turlagh O Neal*, the Principal Actors, the Murder of the *British* were much more Multiplied and committed with greater Cruelty, if it were possible, then in any other Places. There were (5) one Thousand Men, Women and Children, carried out at several times in several Troops, and all unmercifully Drowned at the Bridge of *Portnedown*, which was broken down in the midst, and so driving and forcing them on, threw them into the River. And as other Relations gave it in, (6) four Thousand Persons were Drowned within the several Parts of that County. (7) The Rebels in a most Barbarous manner drove on many of those Miserable Striped Christians unto the Places of their Sufferings like Swine, and if any were slack in their Pace, they sometimes pricked them forwards with their Swords and Pikes, often hastening on the Rest either by killing or wounding some of their Fellows in the Way.

County, whereof *Mr. Middleton* was the keeper, being Clerk of the Peace, which he forced him to deliver unto him; as likewise one Thousand Pounds, he had in his Hands of *Sir William Baulfours*; which as soon as he had, he compelled the said *Middleton* to hear Mass, Swear never to alter from it, and immediately after caused him, his Wife and his Children to be Hanged up, and Hanged and Murdered one Hundred Persons besides, at least in that Town. These Particulars and several others set down at large in a Relation sent me by *Sir John Dunbar Knight*, one of the Justices of Peace within the County of *Fermanagh*.

(5) 1000 Men, Women and Children, Drowned in one Place. This Number is deposed in *Dr. Maxwels Examination* taken the 22d of Aug. 1642.

(6) This Number of so many Persons Drowned within the County of *Armagh*, is deposed by *Thomas Green* and *Elizabeth his Wife*, as appear by their Examinations taken Nov. 10th 1643.

(7) *William Clerk* of the County of *Armagh* Tanner, saith, That he with 100 Men, Women and Children, or thereabouts, were by the Rebels driven like Dogs about six Miles, to a River called the *Band*: In which space the aforesaid Christians were most Barbarously used by forcing them to go fast with Swords and Pikes, thrusting them into their Sides, and they Murdered three by the Way, and the Rest they drove to the River aforesaid, and there forced them to go upon the Bridge, which was cut down, and with their Pikes, and Swords and other Weapons, thrust them down Headlong into the said River and immediately they Perished, and those who assumed to Swim to the Shore the Rebels stood and shot at. *Jurat. Jan. 7th 1642.*

Mary the Wife of Ralph Corn deposes, That 180 English were taken by the Irish, and driven like Cattle from *Castle Cumber* to *Athy*.

(8) Other

(8) Elizabeth the Wife of Captain Rue Price of the Town and County of Armagh, deposeth, That five of Her Children, together with 110 other Protestants out of the Parishes of Armagh, Laughaul, and other Places were sent away with Passes from Sir Phelim O Neal, with promise to be safely conveyed over to their Friends in England: That their Conductor was Captain Manus O Cane and his Soldiers, who having brought or rather driven them like Sheep or Beasts to the Bridge of Portnedown, there forced or threw all those Poor Prisoners into the Water, together with the Deponents five Children, and then and there Drowned most of them. (9) And those who could Swim and came to the Shore, they either knocked them on the Head, and so after Drowned them, or else Shot them to Death in the Water. Jurat. Jan. 29th 1642.

Christian Stanhaw, the Relict of Hen. Stanhaw, of the Parish of Laughaul, in the County of Armagh deposeth, That upon the Drowning of 140 Protestants at one time at Portnedown Bridge, after they had thrown them in some of them Swimming to the Shore, the Rebels with their Muskets knocked out their Brains. Jurat. Jan. 29th 1642.

(10) James Shaw of Market-Hill in the County of Armagh, deposeth the manner of Mrs. Cambels, pulling the Rebel into the Water, and how he was Drowned with her. Jurat. Aug. 14th 1642.

(11) Captain Parkin deposeth, That Sir Phelim O Neal flying from Dundalk, went to Armagh, where he began his Bloody Massacres, causing Manus O Cane to get together all the Protestants which were left thereabouts, to conduct them to Colerain; but before they were scarce a Days Journey from him, they were all Murdered, and so were several others by Special Direction from Sir Phelim O Neal, and his Brother Turlagh, Notwithstanding they were Protected by them. All the Aged People in Armagh were by the same Direction carried away, but Murdered also at Charlemont. And presently after his Brother and he with their Adherents, Maliciously set on Fire the goodly Cathedral Church of Armagh, and Town of Armagh, and Murdered and Drowned there 500 Persons Young and Old. At desolate

(8) Other Companies they carried out under pretence of giving them safe Conduct out of the Country, and so got them to go cheerfully on by Vertue of Sir Phelim O Neal's Pass, untill they came at some Place fit for their Execution. (9) And if they Drowned them, then they had some prepared to Shoot or knock down with Poles, any such as could Swim, or used any other means to Escape out of the Water. (10) Amongst many others a Gentlewoman whose Name was Mrs. Cambell, being forcibly brought by them to the River, and she finding no means to Escape their Fury, suddenly clasped her Arms about one of the Chief Rebels that was most forward to thrust her into the Water, and as I find it Credibly related upon Oath, carried him to the Bottom with her, and so they were both Drowned together. (11) The Cathedral Church and Town of Armagh were Burnt, many Towns laid Waste, all the fair Plantations made by the British left

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the Parish of Killaman 48 Families were then Murdered by Directions from Sir Phelim O Neal, who had remained Protected by him three Quarters of a Year. Jurat. March, 8th 1643.

desolate in some Parishes

(12) two Hundred Families Murdered and Destroyed, the whole County, as it were a Common Butchery, and through all Parts of it very many Thousands Perished in short time by Sword, Famine, Fire, Water, and all other

manner of cruel Deaths, that Rage and Malice could invent. But

before I leave this Subject, I shall pass a little further, and out of some Some Horrid Examinations (taken here upon Oath, which I have perused) present Inhuman cruelties exercised upon particular Persons. a Brief Collection of some other Horrid inhuman Cruelties, which I find were used in the Murdering of many Poor innocent Souls. To many, these Bloody Villians shewed so much favour as suddenly to dispatch them out of their Pain, by no means allowing them leave, or

(13) time to say, their Prayers, for others, they held a sudden Death too easy a Punishment. Therefore they Imprisoned

(14) some in most Beastly Dungeons, full of Dirt and Mire, and their clapping Bolts on their Heels, suffered them to Perish at Leisure; others they Barbarously

(15) Mangled; and left Languishing upon the High-Ways, Crying out but

(12) Jane Grace the Wife of Nicholas Grace late of Kilmore, in the County of Armagh, deposeth, That there were two and twenty English Protestants Burned in one House, within two Miles of Kilmore; and that the Rebels Striped, killed or Murdered all, or the most of the English of that Parish, which consisted of two Hundred Families. That they set many in the Stocks until they Confessed their Money, and when they could get no more, that then they Murdered them.

(13) Edward Saltinglass of the County of Armagh Gent. deposeth, and saith, That George Lawlis a Rebel of the said County resolving to kill John Cowder, told him he would kill him, but bid him first say his Prayers; whereupon the said Cowder kneeling down to pray, the said Lawlis instantly cut off his Head as he was upon his Knees. Jurat. Jun. 1st 1642.

Elizabeth Price deposeth, That when as divers of the English were about to be Murdered, and desired the Rebelson their Knees first to admit them to make their Prayers to God; the Rebels have often, in her the Deponents hearing, in Irish answered and said be- queath your Soul to the Devil; and at other times the

Rebels would say, why should you pray, your Souls is with the Devil already? and with those Words in their Mouths would Slaughter and put them to Death. Jurat. ut supra.

(14) Edward Banks of Cassel, in the County of Tipperary, Clerk deposeth, That the Rebels there on the first Day of January killed fifteen Men and Women, all English Protestants, at Cassel, and that they entered and took the Town, and having the same, that they took this Deponent and other Clergymen, and then and there forthwith caused them to be put in the Dungeon, where they continued twelve Weeks in most Miserable slavery. Jurat. April 21st 1642.

(15) John Cregg in the County of Armagh, Yeoman, deposeth, That in the Parish of Levilegish, there were divers Englishmen Cruelly Murdered, some twice, some thrice Hanged up, and others Wounded and left half Dead, crying out Lamentably for some to come and end their Miseries by killing of them. Jurat. Jan. 7th 1642.

(16) William Parkinson of Castle-Cumber in the County of Kilkenny, Gent. deposeth, That by the Credible report both of English and some Irish, who affirmed they were Eye-Witness of a Bloody Murder committed near Kilsfeal in the Queens-County, upon an Englishman his Wife, four or five Children, and a Maid. All which were Hanged by the Command of Sir Morgan Cavanah, and Robert Harpool, and afterwards all put in one Hole, the Youngest Child being not quit Dead, put out the Hand and cryed Mammy, Mammy, when without Mercy they Buried him alive. Jurat. Feb. 11th 1642.

Elizabeth Price deposeth, That Thomas Mason, an English Protestant of Langaul, being extreemly beaten and Wounded, was carried away by his Wife and some others; for Revenge of which, the Rebels most Cruelly Hacked Slashed and Wounded them: And that done, dragged the said Mason unto a Hole, and then and there threw Earth, Stones and Rubbish upon him, and with the Weight thereof kept him under, so as the said Mason's Wife told this Deponent, he cryed out, and Languished till his own Wife, to put him out of his Pain, rather then hear him cry still; tyed her Handkerchief over his Mouth, and therewith stopped his Breath, so as he Died. Jurat. Jun. 29th. 1642.

(17) This Particular, concerning the Seventeen Men Buried alive at Clewnis, was testified unto me by Mrs. Aldrich, who was then kept Prisoner in the Town by the Rebels and heard their pittiful cries.

(18) William Parkinson, late of Castle-Cumber in the County of Kilkenny, deposeth, that he saw Lewis O Bernan, with his Sword drawn in the said Town, pursue after an English Boy of Eight or Nine Years of age, or thereabouts, by Name Richard Bernet, into an House, and saw the said Lewis lead the said Boy forth of the House, the Blood running about his Ears, in a Hair Rope, and led the Boy to his Fathers Tentors; and there Hanged him with John Banks another little Boy. Jurat. ut supra.

for so much Mercy as to be delivered out of their Pain.

Others they Buried (16) alive, a Manner of Death they used to several British, in several Places: And (17) at Clewnis within the County of Fermanagh, there were Seventeen Persons, having been Hanged till they were half Dead, cast together into a Pit, and being covered over with a little Earth, lay pitifully, sending out most Lamentable Groans for a good time after. (18) Some were Deadly Wounded and so Hang'd upon Tentor-Hooks. (19) Some had Ropes put about their Necks, and so drawn through the Water; some had Withes, and so drawn up and down thorow Woods and Bogs; others were Hanged up and taken

stopped his Breath, so as he

down

(19) Edward Saltingstone, of the County of Armagh Gent. depofeth, that Manus O Cane, Bryan O Kelly, Shane O Neil, Neil Oge O Neil, Gent. did take William Blundel of Grange, in the County of Armagh Yeoman, and put a Rope about his Neck, and threw him into the Black Water at Charlemont, and drew him up and down the Water to make him Confess his Money, who thereupon gave them 21 l. Yet within three Weeks after he, his Wife, and seven Children were Drowned by the Rebels: And further faith, that Samual Law

of Grenan in the Parish of Armagh, was by the said Neil Oge O Neil, and others brought to a Wood, and that they put a Withe about his Neck, and so drew him up and down by the Neck, until he was glad to promise them 10 l. Jurat ut fupar.

Margaret Fermenly in the County of Fermanagh depofeth, that the Rebels bound her and her Husbands Hands behind them to make them Confess their Money, and Dragged them up and down in a Rope, and Cut his Throat in her own fight with a Skein, having first knocked him down, and Stripped him, and that being an Aged Woman of 75 Years Old, as she came up afterwards to Dublin, she was Stripped by the Irish seven times in one Day, the Rebels bidding them go and look for their God, and bid him give them Cloaths. Jurat.

(20) Edward Willson of the County of Monaghan, depofeth, That among other Cruelties used by the Rebels to the English, they Hung up some by the Arms, and then Hacked them with their Swords, to see how many Blows they could endure before they Died. Jurat.

(21) Anne the Wife of Mervin Madefly, late of the City of Kilkenny, Gent. Sworn and Examined, depofeth, That some of the Rebels in Kilkenny aforefaid, struck and beat a Poor Englishwoman until she was forced into a Ditch, where she Died, those Barbarous Rebels having first ript up her Child, of about six Years of age, and let her Guts run about her Heels. Jurat.

James Geare of the County of Monaghan, depofeth That the Rebels at Clewnis Murdered one James Netterville, Proctor to the Minister there, who, although he was diversly Wounded, his Belly ript up, and his Entrails taken out and laid above a Tard from him, yet he Bled not at all, until they lifted him up and carried him away; at which this Deponent being an Eye-Witness, much Wondred; and thus Barbarously they used him after they had drawn him to go to Mass with them. Jurat.

April 6th 1642.

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with

(22) Owen Frankland of the City of Dublin, deposeth, That Michael Garrahy told this Deponent, that there was a Scotchman, who being driven by the Rebels out of the Newry, and knockt on the Head by the Irish, recovered himself, and came again into the Town Naked. Whereupon the Rebels carried him and his Wife out of the Town, cut him all to Pieces, and with a Skien ripped his Wifes Belly, so as a Child dropped out of her Womb. Jurat. July 23^d 1642.

(23) At Ballimcolough within four Miles of the City of Ross, in April 1642. John Stone of the Graige, his Son, his two Sons in Law, and his two Daughters were Hanged; one of his Daughters being great with Child, her Belly was ripped up, her Child taken forth, and such Barbarous Beastly Actions used to her as are not fit to be mentioned.

(24) Philip Taylor, late of Portnedown, deposeth, That the Rebels killed a Dyers Wife of Ross-trever, at the Newry, and ript up her Belly, she being great with Child of two Children, and threw her and her Children into a Ditch, and that he this Deponent drove away Swine from Eating one of the Children Jurat.

(25) John Montgomery of the County of Monaghan, Sworn and Examined saith, That one Brian Mac-Erony, Ringleader of the Rebels in the County of Fermanagh, killed Ensign Floyd, Robert Worknum, and four of their Servants, one of which they having Wounded, though not to Death, they Buried quick. As also, that he was credibly informed, that the Daughter in Law of one Foard in the Parish of Clownish, being delivered of a Child in the Fields, the Rebels, who had formerly killed her Husband and Father, killed her and two of her Children, and suffered the Dogs to Eat up and devour her New-born Child. Jurat. June 26th 1642.

(26) Katherine, the Relitt of William Coke, of the County of Armagh Carpenter, deposeth, That the Rebels of the said County Robbed, Striped, and Murdered, a great company of Protestants some by Burning, some by the Sword, some by Hanging, and the Rest by Starving, and other Deaths. And this Deponent, to shun their Rage, and save her Poor Life, hid herself in a Ditch of Water, and so sat there among high Rushes so long, as that she was almost Frozen and Starved to Death, and then Crawled away secretly. And further saith that some of the Rebels that Escaped and fled from the Battle of Lisnagarvy, meeting one Mrs. Howard, and Mrs. Frankland, both great with Child, and six small Children with them, those Rebels then and there with their Pikes killed and Murdered them all, and after ripped open the Gentlewomens Bellies, took out their Children, the one of them being quick,

with Child, whose (23) Bellies they ripped up as they hung, and so let the little Infants fall out; a Course they ordinarily took with such as they found in that sad Condition. (24) And sometime they gave their Children to Swine; (25) Some the Dogs Eat; and some (26) taken alive out of their Mothers Bellies, they cast into Ditches. And for Sucking Children, and others of a Riper age, some (27) had their Brans knockt out; others (28) were trampled under Foot to Death.

(28) Some

and threw them into a Ditch, in the sight of Jane this Deponents Daughter, who Escaped because she spoke Irish, and said she was an Irishwoman. Jurat. February 24th 1643.

(27) James Stevenson, Clerk, of the County of Letrim, deposeth, That the Rebels there took Isabel Stevenson, a Young Child, left at Fostering, with one Hugh Mac-Arran, and enquiring whose Child it was, they told them it was a Scottish-Mans Child, whereupon they took the Child by the Heels, and run and beat the Brains of it out against a Tree. Jurat. April 20th 1643.

(28) Anne Hill, Wife of Arthur Hill, in the County of Caterlough, deposeth, That as she Passed through the County of Wicklow, William the Plaisterer with nine or ten Rebels more, pulled off her Back a Young Child of one Year and Quarter old, threw it on the Ground, trod on it that it Died, Striped herself and four small Children who by the Cold they thereby got, since Died. Jurat.

(28) John Stubs of the County of Longford, Gent. deposeth, That he heard by some of the Sheriffs Men, that Henry Mead and his Wife, John Bigel, William Stell, and Daniel Stubs, the Deponents Brother were put to Death by Lisagh Farrols, and Oli. Fitz-Gerralds Men, who Hanged them upon a Wind-Mill, and when they were half Dead, they cut them in Pieces with their Skiens. Jurat. Nov. 21st 1641.

El. Price, deposeth, That a great Number of Poor Protestants, especially of Women and Children, they Pricked and Stabbed with their Skeins, Pitch-forks and Swords, and would slash, Mangle and cut them in their Heads, Breasts, Faces, Arms, and other Parts of the Body, but not kill them outright, but leave them Wallowing in their Blood, to languish Starve and pine to Death; and whereas those so Mangled desired them to kill them out of their Pain, they would deny it; but sometimes after a Day or two, they would dash out their Brains with Stones, or by some other cruel way, which they accounted done as a favour, of which she hath in many Particulars been an Eye-witness. Jurat. June 29th 1642.

(29) William Parkinson of Kilkenny Esq; deposeth, That the Wife of John Harvey told him, That she being at Kilkenny, and having there turned to Mass to save her Life; was Notwithstanding Stripped again; together with her Children, and one Purcell a Butcher after he had Striped her Daughter of five Years of age ripped her Body till her Intrails fell out, whereof she died that Night; whereof she Complaining to the Mayor of Kilkenny, he bid away with her and dispatch her, so as not only the Butcher but many others did beat and Wound her, so as she hardly Escaped with her Life. Jurat. ut supra.

(30) Elizabeth Champion, late Wife of Arthur Champion in the County of Fermanagh Esq; deposeth, That when the Castle of Lisgool was set on Fire by the Rebels, a Woman leaping out of a Window to save herself from Burning was
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Murdered by the Rebels; and next Morning her Child was found Sucking her Breast, and also Murdered by them. Jurat. April 26th 1642.

Charity Chappal, late Wife of Richard Chappal Esq; of the Town and County of Armagh, deposeth, That as she hath Credibly heard, the Rebels Murdered great Numbers of Protestants, and that many Children were seen lying Murder'd in Vaults and Cellars, whether they fled to hid themselves. Jurat. July 2d 1642.

Thomas Fleetwood, late Curate of Kilbeggan in the County of West-Meath, deposeth, That he hath heard from the Mouth of the Rebels themselves of great Cruelties Acted by them: And for one instance, that they Stab'd the Mother one Jane Addis by Name, and left the little Sucking Child not a Quarter old, by the Dead Corps; and then they put the Breast of its Dead Mother into its Mouth, and bid it Suck English Bastard, and so left it there to Perish. Jurat. March 22d 1642.

(31) Mary Barlow deposeth, That her Husband being by the Rebels Hanged before her Face, she and six Children were Striped Stark Naked, and turned out a Begging in Frost and Snow, by means whereof they were almost Starved, having nothing to Eat in three Weeks, while they lay in a Cave, but two old Calf-Skins, which they beat with Stones, and so Eat them, Hair and all; her Children crying out unto her, rather to go out and be killed by the Rebels, than to Starve there. Jurat.

(32) John Duffield of the County of Armagh Gent. deposeth, That the Rebels Wounded John Ward and Richard Duffield, so as they thereof Died, and that their Wives and the said John's six Children, being all Stript, Died with Want and Cold. And further saith, That many Thousands of Protestants, Men, Woman, and Children, being Striped of their Cloaths, Died also of Cold and Want in several Parts of the Country. Jurat. Aug. 9th 1642.

* Jane the Wife of Gabriel Constable, late of Drumcad in the County of Armagh, Gent. Sworn and Examined saith, That her Husband, and his Mother about 88 Years old, and his Brother being Murdered by the Rebels in the Parish of Kilmore, that a great Number of Protestants were about Candlemas, 1642. by the Means and instigation of Joan Hemskin, formerly a Protestant, but a meer Irish Woman, and lately turned to Mass, and of divers others her Assistants, forced and thrust into a Thatch'd House within the Parish of Kilmore, and then and there, the Protestants being almost Naked, covered with Rags only, the same House, was by that Bloody Woman and Miserably

Cellars: Others (31) Starved in Caves, crying out to their Mothers rather to send them out to be killed by the Rebels, than to suffer them to Starve there.

Multitudes of (32) Men, Women, and Children, were found Drowned, cast into Ditches, Boggs and Turff-Pits; the Ordinary Sepulchures of the British Nation. Thousands Died of Cold and Want in all Parts of the Country, being neither permitted to depart, nor relieved where they were enforced to stay.

* Multitudes inclosed in Houses, which being set on Fire, they were there most

her Barbarous Assistants set on Fire in several Parts thereof; the Poor imprisoned Parties (who where by Armed Parties kept there lockt in) were Miserably Burned to Death, and at length the House fell upon them; and the Combustible part of the House being Consumed before the Bodies of all those Miserable Wreches were Burned to Ashes, the Bodies of many of them lay there in Holes, to the great Terror of the Beholders that were Protestants, three only Escaped out of a Hole of the House, and the Rest that attempted to Escape the Flames, were then and there forced and thrown in again and so Burned to Death. Jurat. June 16th 1642.

(33) Katherine Madefon of the County of Fermanagh, deposeth, That they drew some lying Sick of Fevers, out of their Beds, and Hanged them; and that they drove before them of Men, Women and Children, to the Number of Sixteen, and Drowned them in a Boggy-Pit, knocking such on the Head with Poles, as Endeavoured to get out.

Miserably consumed. (33) Some dragged out of their Sick-Beds to the Place of Execution. (34) Children enforced to carry their Aged Parents to the Places designed for their Slaughter. (35) Nay, some Children compelled most unnaturally to be the Executioners of their own Parents, Wives to help to Hang their Husbands. (36) Mothers to cast their own Children into the Water; and yet after these enforced Acts, which no doubt were performed out of hopes and Assurances to have their own Lives saved, always Murdered. And such was the Malice and most detestable hatred born to the English by the Irish, as they

(34) Thomas Green in the Parish of Dumcres in the County of Armagh Yeoman, and Elizabeth his Wife, Sworn and Examined, saith, That the Deponent Thomas Green hardly Escaped away with his Life, but that the other Deponent and six Children were all left among the Rebels, and so Striped of their Cloaths, and Hunger Starved, that five of the Children Died, and she this Deponent being put to Beg among the Merciless Rebels, was at length rescued from them by the Scottish Army: She further saith, that the Rebels, did Drown in a Bog 17 Men, Women, and Children, at one time within the said Parish; and she is verily Perswaded that the Rebels at several times and Places within the County of Armagh, Drowned above 4000 Protestants, enforcing the Sons and Daughters of those very Aged People, who were not able to go themselves, to take them out of their Beds and Houses, and carry them to Drowning, especially in the River of Toll, in the Parish of Loghgall. Jurat. Nov. 10th 1643.

(35) John Rutledge deposeth, That such were the Barbarous and inhumane Cruelties of the Rebels, that sometimes they enforced the Wife to kill the Husband, the Son to kill the Father, and the Daughter to kill the Mother, and then they would Hang or put to Death the last Blood-Shedder. He further saith, That of his knowledge the Rebels in the Town of Sligo, forced one Lewis the Younger to kill his Father, and then Hanged the Son; and in Mogne in the County of Mayo, the Rebels forced

taught

one Simon Lepers Wife to kill her Husband, and then caused her Son to kill her, and then they Hanged the Son.

(36) This deposed in Mr. Goldsmith's Examination, which is set forth at large in the foregoing Page.

(37) Anne Read, the Relict of Helchian Read, of the County of Letrim, deposeth, That she being Striped of all she had, some of her Children Died of Want and Famine, and that one of her Sons called Stephen Read, being about six Years of age, was about the 10th of February, 1642. in the House of James Gray of the County of Cavan, and going forth to Play, there then gathered about him six Irish Children of that Town, who suddenly fell upon him, and in such manner, that some with Sticks and some with Stones put out his Eyes, and bruised his Body extremely, so that he by means of those Children (which were none of them as she is persuaded above eight Years of age) not long after Died, and had been killed outright in the Place, had not an Englishwoman, coming thither, who took up the Dying Child from them, saying she Wonder'd they could find in their Hearts so to deal with a Poor Child; but they answered, They would do as much for her if they were able. Jurat. July 12th 1642.

(38) Dennis Kelly of the County of Meath deposeth, That Garret Tallon of Cruisetown, in the said County, Gent. (as it is commonly reported) hired two Men to kill Anne Hagely, Wife to Edward Tallon his Son, a Papist and at that time absent from Home; and the said two Men did in most Bloody manner, with Skeins, kill the said Anne Hagely, and her Daughter, and her Daughters two Children, because they would not consent to go to Mass; and after they would not permit them to be Buried in a Church or Church-Yard, but they four were Buried in a Ditch. Jurat. August 23d 1643.

John Griffel of the Queens-County, deposeth, That the Women and Children in those Parts, were as cruel and forward as the Men Rebels, the Children tho Young, being very bold in their Rogneries, bidding this Deponent and the Rest of the English be gone, or else they should be Hanged.

Elizabeth Baskerville deposeth, That she heard the Wife of Florence Fitz-Patrick find much fault with her Husbands Soldiers, because they did not bring along with them the Grease of Mrs. Nicholson, whom they had Slain, for her to make Candles withal. Jurat. April 26th 1643.

taught their (37) Children to kill English Children, and the (38) Irish Women did naturally express as much Cruelty as the Chiefest Rebels among them.

If these be not sufficient, let us over-look the Particular ends of some Particular Persons, and we shall yet in them behold more Horrid Cruelties than these before-mentioned. What (39) shall we say to a Child boyled to Death in a Cauldron, a (40) Woman Hanged on a Tree, and in the Hair of her Head, her own Daughter Hanged up with her; a Woman (41) Miserably Rent and Torn to Pieces; (42) some taken

Martha Culm, deposeth that she heard some of the Irish, themselves detest the Cruelty of the Women who followed their Camp, and put them on in Cruelty, saying, spare neither Man, Woman, nor Child. Jurat.

(39) This Particular deposeth, by Margaret Parkin, as also by Elizabeth Burfel, who saith, That the Child of twelve Years of Age, being the Child of Thomas Straton of Newtown. Jurat. Jan. 19th 1642.

(40) The Wife of Jonathan Linn and his Daughter, were Seized upon by the Rebels near the Town of Catherlough, carried by them into a little Wood, called Staple-town Wood, and there the Mother was Hanged, and the Daughter Hanged in the Hair of her Mothers Head, as is deposeth by James Shaw, Vicar of Old Laughlin. Jurat. Jan. 8th 1643.

(41) Adam Clover, deposeth, That he saw upon the High-way a Woman left by the Rebels Striped to her Smock set upon by three Women and some Children, being Irish, who Miserably rent and tore the said Poor Englishwoman, and Striped her of her Smock in a bitter Frost and Snow, so that she fell in Labour in their Hands, and both she and her Child Died there. Jurat. Jan. 4th 1642.

(42) This Cruelty was used to some English in the Province of Connaught, as was testified by the Lords Justices and Council, as doth appear by their Letters.

Tho. Fleetwood Curate of Kilbeggan, in the County of West-Meath, deposeth That the Lord President of Connaught, caused an Englishwoman who could speak Irish, to go towards Dublin, with a Letter, but she was taken within five Miles of Athlone, brought back and Stoned to Death, by the Women of the Town, dwelling on the hither side of the Bridge. Jurat.

(43) James, of Hackets-town, in the County of Catherlough, deposeth, That an Irish Gentlewoman, told him and others, that she turned an Englishwoman away who was her Servant, and had a Child; and that before the Poor Woman and Child were gone half a Mile, divers Irishwomen slew them with Stones. Jurat. April 21st 1643.

(44) John Clerk of Knockback Gent. deposeth, That he heard Credibly from Mr. Lightboun, Minister of the Naas, that the Rebels Shot a Parish Clerk near Kildare, through both his Thighs, and afterwards digged a deep Hole in the Ground, wherein they set him upright on his Feet, and filled up the Hole in the Earth, leaving out only his Head, in which State and Posture they left the Poor Wounded Man, till he pined, languished, and so Died. Jurat. October 24th 1643.

(45) Katherine, the Relict of William Coke, of the County of Armagh, deposeth, That many of her Neighbours who had been Prisoners among the Rebels, said and affirmed, that divers of the Rebels would Confess, Brag and Boast, how they took an English Protestant one Robert Wilkinson at Kilmore, and held his Feet in the Fire until they Burned him to Death: And the same Robert Wilkinson's own Son was present, and a Prisoner, when that Cruelty was exercised on his Father. Jurat. February 24th 1643.

(46) At Cashel in Munster, besides many Ministers which they there Hanged after a most Barbarous manner, they Stript one Naked, and drove him through the Town, Pricking him forward with Darts and Rapiers, and so pursuing him till he fell down Dead. Jurat. ut supra.

(47) Christian Stanshaw, the Relict of Hen. Stanshaw, late of the County of Armagh Esq; deposeth, That a Woman that formerly lived near Laugale, absolutely informed this Deponent, that the Rebels enforced a great Number of Protestants, Men Women and Children, into a House which they set on Fire purposely to Burn them, as they did, and still as any of them offered to come out, to shun the Fire the Wicked Rebels with Sythes, which they had in their Hands, cut them in Pieces, and cast them into the Fire, and Burned them with the Rest. Jurat. July 23d 1642.

(48) Adam Clover of the County of Cavan, deposeth, That he observed 30 Persons to be most Barbarously Murdered, and about 150 more cruelly Wounded, so that Traces of Blood issuing from them lay upon the High-way for 12 Miles together, and many very Young Children were left and Perished by the Way, to the Number of 60, or thereabouts; because the Cruelties of the Rebels were such, that their Parents and Friends could not carry them further. And further saith, That some of the Rebels vowed, that if any digged Graves whereinto Bury the Dead Children they should be Buried therein themselves: So the Poor People left most of them un-buried, exposed to Ravenous Beasts and Fowls. Jurat. Jan. 4th 1642.

(49) Edward Saltinstale deposeth, That the Rebels killed William Loverden when he was Naked; his Wife and Children looking on, and cutting off his

(47) A Company of Men, Women and Children put into a House, and as they were Burning some Children that made an Escape out of the Flames were taken by some of the Rebels who stood by, cut them in Pieces with Sythes, and so cast them into the Fire again.

Neither did these horrible Tortures, which they put these Poor innocent Christians unto, allack their Fury, their Malice towards them did not determine with their Breath. But after so many several Bloody ways and cruel Inventions wherewith they Rent the Souls from their wretched Bodies, even to their (48) Dead Carkasses, in some Places, they denied all manner of Burial; some (49) they cast into Ditches, others (50) they left to be devoured by Dogs and Swine, others by Fowls and Ravenous

ous Beasts: Nay (51) several which had been formerly Buried, they digged up, and left them to putrifie above Ground,

killed and Destroyed the most part of the Protestants in the Parish of Dumcres, being about 300, and indeed most of the Protestants in all the County thereabouts did they kill and Destroy by Drowning, Hanging, Burning, the Sword, Starving and other Deaths, exposing their Slaughtered Bodies to be Devoured by Dogs, Swine, and other Ravenous Creatures: And this Deponent Elizabeth, saw the Dogs feed upon those Dead Carcasses. Jurat. Nov. 10th 1643.

(51) Richard Bourk Batchelor of Divinity deposeth, That he was informed, that Mr. Lodge, Archdeacon of Killalow, being Buried about six Years since, and divers other Ministers Bones were digged out of their Graves as Patrons of Heresie, by Direction of the Titular Bishop of Killalow, and Robert Jones a Minister was not admitted Christian Burial, by Direction of some Popish Priests. Jurat. July 12th 1643.

David Buck deposeth, that in the Parish of Monrath in the Queens-County, the Rebels digged up a Number of Englishmens Graves, and left the Corps above Ground to be abused by Dogs, Hogs, or any other Ravenous Creatures.

And these truly are but some of those ways, among many others which with most exquisite Pains and cruel Tortures, were used by these Merciless (52) Rebels to let in Death among an innocent, un-provoking; un-resisting People, that had always lived Peaceably with them, (53) Administring all manner of helps and comforts to those who were in Distress, that made no Difference betwixt them and those of their own Nation, but ever Cherished them as Friends, and loving

Head, held it up to his Wife and Children; and his sorrowful Wife taking his Corps and Burying of it in a Garden, Patrick O Daily a Rebel, took it up, and threw it into a Ditch. Jurat. ut supra.

(50) Thomas Green and Elizabeth his Wife, deposeth, that the Rebels at several times Murdered,

(52) Arthur Agmoughty, deposeth, That during the Siege of Castle Forbess, the Rebels killed poor Children that went out to Eat Weeds or Grass; and that a Poor Woman whose Husband was taken by the Rebels, went to them with two Children at her Feet, and one at her Breast hoping to Beg her Husbonds Life, but they slew her and her Sucking Child, broke the Neck of another of her Children, and the third hardly Escaped. Jurat. Sept. 23d 1642.

(53) Mr. Creighton deposeth in his Examination, That sometimes the Chief of the Irish would make heavy Moan for the Evils they perceived were coming on their Country and Kindred, and said, They saw utter Destruction at Hand, for that they had covered so great a Bitterness so long in their Hearts against the English, and now so suddenly broken out against them, that had brought them up, kept them in their Houses like Children, and had made no Dif-

ference between them, their English Friends and Kindred, by all which the English had so well deserved of them, and they had requited them so Evil, that the English would never trust them hereafter; and now it remains that either they must Destroy the English, or the English them. Jurat. ut supra.

Cutions, Actuated with all kind of Circumstances that might aggravate the Height of their Cruelty towards them. Alas! who can Comprehend the Fears, Terrours, Anguish, Bitterness and Perplexity of their Souls, the Despairing Passions and Consternation of their Minds! What strange amazed Thoughts must it needs raise in their sad Hearts, to find themselves so suddenly Surprized without Remedy, and inextricably wrapt up in all kind of outward Miseries which could possibly by Man be inflicted upon any humane Creatures! What Sighs, Groans, Trembling, Astonishment! What Scratches, Cries, and bitter Lamentations of Wife and Children, Friends and Servants, Howling and Weeping about them, all finding themselves without any manner of Hopes or Deliverance from their present Misery and Pain! How inexorable were their Barbarous Tormentors that compassed them

Neighbours, without giving any cause of Unkindness or Distaste unto them. It is not possible to recollect or express the Wickedness of their Mischievous Inventions, or horror of their Bloody Exe-

Francis Barbour of Dubliu, Gent. deposeth That at the Beginning of the Rebellion, he heard several of the Rebels publicly say, That now the Day was their own, and that they had been Slaves to the English a long time, but that now they would be Revenged to the full, and would not leave before Christmas-Day, an English Protestant Rogue living, with other like bitter Words. Jurat. Jan. 5th 1643.

(54) Joan the Relict of Gabriel Constable, deposeth, That the Rebels having half killed one Ellen Millington, and then put her into a dry Hole made for a Well, and made her fast in with Stones, whereof she languished and Died.

(55) Elizabeth the Wife of Thomas Green deposeth, That she heard the Rebels say, The English were Meat for Dogs; that there should not be one drop of English Blood left within the Kingdom, and that they would Destroy all the very English Children, whom they called Bastards. Jurat. Nov. 10th 1643.

on every side without all Bowels of Compassion, any Sense of their Sufferings, or the least Commiseration and pity, the Common comforters of Men in Misery.

It was no small Addition to their Sorrows, to hear (54) the base Reviling Speeches used against their Country and Country Men, some loudly Threatning (55) all should be cut off, and utterly Destroyed that had one drop of English Blood in them; the Irish women crying out to spare neither Man Woman nor Child that was English; that the English was meat for Dogs, and their Children Bastards.

How

How grievous and insupportable must it needs be to a true Christian Soul, to hear a base (56) Villain boast, that his Hands were so weary with killing and knocking down Protestants into a Bogg, that he could not lift his Arms up to his Head? or others to say, (57) that they had killed so many English-Men, that the Grease or Fat which remained on their

Richard Cleybrook, *deposeth*, That he heard Luke Toole say, That they would not leave an Englishman or Englishwoman, in the Kingdom, that they would not leave an English Beast alive, or any of the Breed of them. Jurat.

Samuel Man of the County of Fermanaugh Gent. *deposeth*, That he heard some of the Irish say, That there should not be one Englishman, Woman or Child left in the Kingdom. Jurat.

Elizabeth Dickingson *deposeth*, That she heard some of the Company of Roury Mac-Guire, say, That the Irish had Command to leave never a Drop of English Blood in Ireland. Jurat. November 17th 1642.

Katherine Madefon of the County of Fermanaugh *deposeth*, That she hath often heard the Rebels say, That they would drive all the English and Scots, out of the Kingdom, and that both Man, Woman and Child should be cut off and Destroyed. Jurat. Nov. 17th 1642.

(56) Elenor Fullerton the Relict of William Fullerton, late Parson of Loughall, *deposeth*, That in Lent 1642. a Young Roguish Cow-boy gave out and affirmed in this Deponents hearing, That his Hands was so weary with killing and knocking down Protestants into a Bog-pit, that he could hardly left his Arms to his Head. Jurat. Sept. 16th 1642.

Owen Frankland, *deposeth*, That he heard Hugh O Can, late Servant to Mrs. Stanshaw, calling to his Fellows in a Boasting manner, asking them what they had been doing at Home all the Day, that he had been Abroad and had killed sixteen of the Rogues, and shewed them some Money. Jurat. ut supra.

(57) Elizabeth Champion, late Wife of Arthur Champion, in the County of Fermanaugh, Esq; saith, That she heard the Rebels say, That they killed so many Englishmen, that the Grease or Fat which remained upon their Swords and Skeins, might well serve to make an Irish Candle. Jurat. April 14th 1642.

Swords or Skeins, might have made an Irish Candle: Or to consider that two (58) Young Cow-boys should have it in their Power to Murder 36 Protestants. Whosoever shall seriously weigh these

(58) John Brin late of Dongannon in the County of Tyrone, *deposeth* that he heard some of the Native Irish that were somewhat more Merciful than the Rest, Complain that two Young Cow-boys within the Parish of Tullah, had at several times Murdered and Drowned 36 Woman and Children. Jurat. Jan. 12th 1643.

Particulars,

(59) James Shaw a Minister, deposeth, That after the Cessation made with the Irish, divers of them Confessed, the Priests had given them the Sacrament, upon Condition they should not spare Man, Woman or Child that were Protestants, and that he heard divers of them say in a Bragging manner, that it did them much good to Wash their Hands in the Blood of the Protestants which they had slain. Jurat. Jan. 7th 1643.

killed by the Rebels from the Time of the Beginning of the Rebellion, October 23d 1641. unto the Month of April following, was as the Priests Weekly gave it in, in their several Parishes, one Hundred and five Thousand. Jurat. April 22d 1642.

(60) Elizabeth Champion deposeth, That when the Rebels had set the Castle of Lisgool, on Fire upon the Protestants there enclosed, and saw the said Castle so Burning, they said among themselves rejoycingly, O how sweetly do they Fry. Jurat. ut supra.

(61) William Lucas, of the City of Kilkenny, deposeth, That altho' he lived in the Town till about five or six Weeks past, in which time he is assured divers Murders and cruel Acts were committed, yet he durst not go Abroad to see any of them: But he doth confidently believe that the Rebels having brought seven Protestants Heads whereof one was the Head of Mr. Bingham a Minister, they did then and there as Triumphs of their Victory, set them upon the Market-Cross on a Market Day, and that the Rebels Slash'd, Stabb'd and Mangled those Heads, put a Gag or Carrot in the said Mr. Bingham's Mouth, slit up his Cheeks to his Ears, laying a Leaf of a Bible before him, and bid him Preach, for his Mouth was Wide enough, and after they had so solaced themselves, threw those Heads in a Hole in St. James Green. Jurat. August 16th 1643.

(62) Julian Johnson, the Relict of John Johnson of the County of Gallway, deposeth, That after the Slaughter of some English, she heard one O Moloy

Particulars, will not much Wonder that so great Numbers of British Protestants, should be Destroyed in so short a Time after the first breaking out of the Rebellion, as Mr. Cunningham (59) deposeth in his Examination: He there saith, That the Account of the Persons

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their Eyes did behold the sad Spectacle of their Miseries, what (62) Greedy delight and Pleasure they took in their Bloody Executions ; what (63) Malice and Hatred they expressed towards them, many with the last stroke of Death giving them in their last agony (64) that

a Fryer, say in Triumphant manner it was a brave sport to see the Young Men (meaning some of the English then slain) defending themselves on every side, and their two Eyes Burning in their Heads. And further that she heard some of the cruel Soldiers then and there Brag and Boast of the brave sport they had by putting Fire to the Straw which a Striped Englishwoman had tyed about her, saying how bravely the Fire then made the English Fade to Dance. Jurat. Feb. 8th 1643.

Joan Constable, the Relict of Gabriel Constable, deposeth, That the Out-cries, Lamentations, and Scritchings of the Poor Protestants, Burned in a Thatch'd House in the Parish of Kilmore, in the County of Armagh, were exceeding loud and pitiful, yet did nothing prevail to mollify the hardened Hearts of their Murderers, but they most boldly made Brags thereof, and took Pride and glory in imitating those Cries, and in telling the Deponent and others, how the Children gaped when the Fire began to burn them, and Threatned and told her this Deponent, that before it were long she and the Rest of the Protestants should suffer the like Deaths. And further saith, That the Rebels within the County of Armagh, did Act and commit divers other Bloody Barbarous Cruelties, (betwixt the time of the Beginning of the Rebellion, and her Escape from Imprisonment out of the said County) by Burning, Drowning and Hanging, the Sword, Starving and other fearful Deaths: That they did Drown at one time betwixt Tinan and Kinnard, sixty British Women, and Children, their respective Husbands and Fathers, all their Friends that were Men, being Murdered before: And that they did in the same Water at another time Drown one Mrs. Maxwel, the Wife of Mr. James Maxwel, when she was in Labour, and so forward therein, as some of those Bloody Actors told and Bragg'd to her this Deponent, that the very Childs Arm appeared, and Waved in the Water, the Child being half Born when the Mother was Drowned. Jurat. ut supra.

(63) Henry Brinkhurst of the County of Mayo, deposeth, That after the Massacre of Shreul, one of the Rebels that had Acted his part there, came into a House with his Hands and Cloaths all Bloody, saying, it was English Blood ; that he hoped to have more of it, and that his Skein had pinked the clean White Skins of many at Shreul, even to the Hilt thereof, and that amongst others it had been in the Body of a fair Complexion'd Man, whose Name was Jones. At which time of his Discourse, the Wife of the said Jones, with four of her small Children, sat by, fearful

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their Eyes did behold the sad Spectacle of their Miseries, what (62) Greedy delight and Pleasure they took in their Bloody Executions; what (63) Malice and Hated they expressed towards them, many with the last stroke of Death giving them in their last agony (64) that

a Fryer, say in Triumphant manner it was a brave sport to see the Young Men (meaning some of the English then slain) defending themselves on every side, and their two Eyes Burning in their Heads. And further that she heard some of the cruel Soldiers then and there Brag and Boast of the brave sport they had by putting Fire to the Straw which a Striped Englishwoman had tyed about her, saying how bravely the Fire then made the English Jaded to Dance. Jurat. Feb. 8th 1643.

Joan Constable, the Relict of Gabriel Constable, deposeth, That the Out-cries, Lamentations, and Scritchings of the Poor Protestants, Burned in a Thatch'd House in the Parish of Kilmore, in the County of Armagh, were exceeding loud and pitiful, yet did nothing prevail to mollify the hardened Hearts of their Murderers, but they most boldly made Brags thereof, and took Pride and glory in imitating those Cries, and in telling the Deponent and others, how the Children gaped when the Fire began to burn them, and Threatned and told her this Deponent, that before it were long she and the Rest of the Protestants should suffer the like Deaths. And further saith, That the Rebels within the County of Armagh, did Act and commit divers other Bloody Barbarous Cruelties, (betwixt the time of the Beginning of the Rebellion, and her Escape from Imprisonment out of the said County) by Burning, Drowning and Hanging, the Sword, Starving and other fearful Deaths: That they did Drown at one time betwixt Tinan and Kinnard, sixty British Women, and Children, their respective Husbands and Fathers, all their Friends that were Men, being Murdered before: And that they did in the same Water at another time Drown one Mrs. Maxwel, the Wife of Mr. James Maxwel, when she was in Labour, and so forward therein, as some of those Bloody Actors told and Bragg'd to her this Deponent, that the very Childs Arm appeared, and Waved in the Water, the Child being half Born when the Mother was Drowned. Jurat. ut supra.

(63) Henry Brinkhurst of the County of Mayo, deposeth, That after the Massacre of Shreul, one of the Rebels that had Acted his part there, came into a House with his Hands and Cloaths all Bloody, saying, it was English Blood; that he hoped to have more of it, and that his Skein had pinked the clean White Skins of many at Shreul, even to the Hilt thereof, and that amongst others it had been in the Body of a fair Complexion'd Man, whose Name was Jones. At which time of his Discourse, the Wife of the said Jones, with four of her small Children, sat by, fearful

and durst not cry out, but striving to suppress her extream Grief, fell into a Swoon, and was conveyed out of the Room, for fear he should have done the like by her and her Poor Children, Henry Brinkhurst. Jurat. March 11th 1643.

(64) This Paricular deposed in the Examination of Dr. Maxwel, and Mrs. Price.

(65) Margaret Stokes the Wife of Hugh Stokes, duly Sworn and Examined, deposeth inter alia, that when the Rebels, or any of them had killed an Englishman, in the Country, many others of them would come one after another, and every one of them in most cruel manner Stab, Wound and cut him, and almost Mangle him; and to shew their further Malice, would not suffer or premit any to Bury them, but would have them tolle Naked, for the Dogs, Beasts, and Fowls of the Air to devour them. And further saith, When they had so killed the English they would reckon up and Account the Number of them, and in a rejoycing and Boasting manner would say, That they had made the Devil beholding to them, in sending so many Souls to him, to Hell. Jurat. coram Sir Gerrard Lowther.

fearful Valediction, in Irish, Anim a duel, They Soul to the Devil.

But it is no Wonder that they carried themselves after this Barbarous manner to these Poor innocent Christians, when they spared not most fearfully to Belch out their Rage against their Maker. What open (65) Hellish Blasphemies were uttered by these Wicked Miscreants?

(66) With what Indignation and reproach did they

Edward Dean of Ocrum in the County of Wicklow, Tanner, deposeth, That the Irish Rebels made Proclamation, That all Englishmen, and Woman that did not depart the Country within Twenty four Hours should be Hanged, Drawn and Quartered, and that the Irish Houses that kept any of the English Children, should be Burned. And further saith, That the said Rebels Burned two Protestant Bibles, and then said, That it was Hell Fire that Burnt. Jurat. Jan. 25th. 1642.

(66) John Kerdif, Clerk of the County of Tyrone, deposeth inter alia, That Fryer Malon of Skerries, did take the Poor Mens Bibles, which he found in the Boat, and cut them in Pieces, and cast them into the Fire with these Words, That he would deal in like manner with all Protstant and Puritan Bibles. Jurat. Feb. 8th 1642.

Henry Fisher, of Powerscourt, in the County of Wicklow, deposeth, That the Rebels entered the Parish Church at Powerscourt, and Burnt up the Pews, Pulpit, Chests, and Bibles belonging to the said Church with extream Violence and Triumph, and expressing of hatred to Religion. Jurat. Jan. 25th 1642.

Adam Clover of Slonoly, in the County of Cavan, duly Sworn, deposeth, That James O Rely, Hugh Brady, and other Rebels, did often

tear

take in their Hands the Protestant Bibles, and wetting them in the Dirty Water, did five or six times dash the same on the Face of this Deponent and other Protestants, saying, Come, I know you love a good Lesson, here is an excellent one for you; come to Morrow, and you shall have as good a Sermon as this; and used other Scornful and Disgraceful Words unto them: And further saith, That dragging divers Protestants by the Hair of the Head, and in other cruel manner, into the Church, there Striped, Robbed, Whipped, and most Cruelly used them, saying, if you come to Morrow you shall hear the like Sermon. Jurat. Jan. 4th 1642.

Edward Slack, of Gulteen in the County of Fermanaugh, Clerk, deposeth, That the Rebels there took his Bible, opened it, and laying the open side in a Puddle of Water, leaped and trampled upon it, saying, a Plague on it, this Bible hath bred all the Quarrel; and that they hoped within few Weeks all the Bibles in Ireland should be used as that was, or worse, and that none should be left in the Kingdom. Jurat. Jan. 4th 1642.

tear, trample under their Feet, the Sacred Word of GOD! How despitefully did they upbraid the Profession of the Truth to those Blessed Souls, whom neither by Threats nor Terrors, Pains nor Torments, they could draw to forsake their Religion!

But I shall not here touch any further upon those who Died thus Gloriously; this will be a Worthy Work for some more able Pen to undertake, and indeed fit for a Martyrology. If we shall take a Survey of the Primitive Times, and look into the Sufferings of the first Christians that suffered under the Tyranny and cruel Persecutions of those Heathenish Emperors, we shall not certainly find any one Kingdom, though of a far larger Continent, where there were more Christians suffered, or more Unparall'd Cruelties acted in many Years upon them, than were in Ireland, within the Space of the first two Months after the breaking out of this Rebellion. And

howsoever (67) some by outward Infictions and Tortures were drawn to profess the Change of their Religion, and had presently their reward: For many of those they suddenly dispatched with great scorn, saying, it was fit to send them out of the World in that good

(67) Alexander Creighton of Glaslough in the County of Monaghan, Gent. deposeth, That he heard it Credibly reported among the Rebels aforesaid at Glaslough, that Hugh Mac O Degan, a Priest, had done a most Meritorious Act in drawing betwixt forty and fifty English, and Scots in the Parish of Ganally in the County of Fermanaugh, to Reconciliation with the Church of Rome, and after giving them the Sacrament, demanded of them Mood;

whether Christ's Body was really in the Sacrament or no? And they said, yea: And that he demanded further, Whether they held the Pope to be Supream Head of the Church? They likewise answered, he was: And that thereupon he presently told them, they were in a good Faith; and for fear they should fall from it, and turn Hereticks, he and the Rest that were with him cut all their Throats. Jurat March 1st 1642.

(68) John Glafs, of Montwrath in the Queens-County, Sworn and Examined, saith, That Florence Fitz-Patrick of the said County Esq; having received Mr. John Nicholson and his Wife Anne Nicholson, under his Protection, did endeavour all he could to turn them to Mass; on the present Rebellion; but they both professed that rather than they would either forsake their Religion, or Fight against their Country-Men, they would Die the Death, the Husband professing how much they abhorred it, and his Wife even shewing greater Resolution: They would have had her Burnt her Bible; but her answer was, before she would either Burn her Bible, or turn against her Country-Men, she would Die upon the point of the Sword; which was made good by them; for on a Sabbath Day in the Morning before Mass, they were Cruelly Butchered and Murdered by the Command of the said Florence Fitz-Patrick: The Instrument that Acted the Villany, was one John Harding, who since hath been beyond all expression Tormented in his Conscience, and with continued Apparitions of them (as he conceived) in such manner as he Murdered them; so as he is even now consumed away with the Horror of it, as is most frequently reported among the Rebels. Jurat. April 8th 1642.

We shall find in the Roman Story, during the several cruel Contestations betwixt Marius and Sylla, when their Factionous Followers filled the whole City of Rome with Streams of Blood, strange and most incomparable Passages of Friendships; one exposing himself to all manner of Dangers for the preservation of his Friend of a contrary Faction; Servants willingly sacrificing themselves to save the Lives of their beloved Masters. But here on the contrary, what open Violations of all the Bands of Humanity and Friendship? No Contracts no Promises observed; Quarters given in the most solemn manner with the greatest Oaths and severest Execrations, under Hand and Seal, suddenly broken. The Irish Landlords making a prey of their

English

English Tenants; the *Irish* Servants betraying their *English* Masters; and every one esteeming any Act wherein they could declare their Hatred and Malice most against any of the *British* Nation, as Gallant and truly Meritorious.

It is not to be denied, but that the first and most bloody Executions were made in the Province of *Ulster*, and there they continued longest to execute their rage and cruelty; yet must it also be acknowledged, that all the other three Provinces did concur with them, as it were, with one common consent to destroy and pluck up by the Roots all the *British* planted throughout the Kingdom. And for this purpose they went on, not only murdering, stripping, and driving out all of them, Men, Women, and Children, but they laid waste their Habitations, burnt their Edifices, defaced in many places all the Monuments of Civility and Devotion, the Courts and Places of the *English* Government; nay, as some of themselves express it, they resolved not to leave them either Name or Posterity in *Ireland*.

How they proceeded on in this Work, or how far they co-operated each with other, will be a Task of a large size, and more proper for another place in this Story.

I shall here conclude this Discourse concerning the Cruelties exercised upon the *British* and Protestants, with these following Examinations. They are Eight in Number, two Witnesses, as it were taken out of each Province to declare their bloody Proceedings: I shall begin with *Munster*, from whence we have yet very few Examinations brought up, the chiefest of them having been most unhappily carried another way. Therefore I have thought fit, for the more full expressing their Miseries, to insert their General Remonstrance, made upon the Conclusion of the late Cessation, in the year 1643. The two next ensuing are concerning the Province of *Connaught*, then those of the Province of *Ulster*; and lastly, two Examinations taken of some Acts of Cruelty committed within the Province of *Leinster*. I have made choice, for the most part of them, of such as have been put in by Persons of good Quality, of known Integrity and Credit. They are all upon Oath, as all the other Examinations concerning Cruelties before-mentioned likewise are. I shall leave the several Particulars to the Consideration of such as shall please to take the Pains to read them over, And I may well say of them, in respect of the former Cruelties inserted, as was said to the Prophet *Ezekiel* in another case, *Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater Abominations than these.*

Here follow several Examinations taken upon Oath, of several Horrid Murders, and most Abominable Cruelties acted within the four Provinces.

Ezek. 8. 12.

A General Remonstrance of the Distressed Protestants in the Province of Munster.

Setting forth, from the gasping Condition of their most sad and distressed Souls, That whereas the Province of *Munster*, through the vast Expence of *English* Treasure and Blood, was reduced from the height of Barbarism to such a degree of Civility, that the Power and Dignity of the *English* Crown, was much Advanced and Extended by the Surest and Noblest Bonds of a Flourishing People; those of Religion, Civility and Profit: Of Religion, witnessed by the Enlarged Congregations both in Cathedral and Parochial Churches: Civility by the many costly Plantations, fair and strong Buildings, plentiful Markets, and bountiful Hospitality: And Profit by the free Trade and Commerce throughout *Christendom*. Lands fully Improved, abounding with Herbs and Flocks of all sorts of the best *English* Cattel, which enabled us to advance great Sums to His Majesties Customs; contribute large Subsidies, and to supply the West of *England* with such a considerable proportion of Wooll and Cattel, that a great part of the Trade of those parts subsisted thereby. And this begun at the great charge of the *English* Undertakers, in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* of famous Memory; since when few parts of *Christendom* from their beginning (in so short space) had such a Rise and Growth; which was not alone to our selves, but the very Natives must confess, that their Estates were hugely augmented by our Improvements. And therefore let it not be wondered at, that when we consider from what we are fallen to what we are fallen; if the pain of Loss, strive to equal that of Sense; and if the depth of our Miseries have not sunk our Souls to stupidity we may compare our Woes to the saddest Parrallel of any Story. Our Temples demolished, or worse, prophaned by Sacrifices to Idols; our Houses and Castles become ruinous heaps, our Nation extirpated, destroyed: No Quality, Age, Sex, privileged from Massacres and lingring Death; by being robbed and stripp'd naked, through Cold or Famine, Passages of a notable piece of Clemency and Mercy. The famished Infants of Murdered Parents swarm in our Streets, and for want of Bread perish before our Faces; and many of our yet miserable Remnant, which lived plentifully, and relieved others, are forced to ask Relief, and those they ask of, constrained by want to refuse them; So as undoubtedly our present Miseries are not far distant of those of *Samaria's* Siege;

Siege; and all those cast upon us by this Unparallell'd Rebellion, at a time when we were most confident and secure, more and greater Immunities and Bounties being granted by his Majesty that now is, than ever was by his Royal Progenitors; for what Cause, Offence, or least seeming Provocation, our Souls never imagine (Sin excepted) save that we were Protestants, and His Majesties Loyal Subjects, and could not endure their Poysonous Breaths to belch out such Prophaneness, as in a deep measure pierced and wounded the Sacred Fame of our King; and to colour this, we must go under the notorious Names of first Puritans, and latter of Roundheads; for particular instances, time would fail, and length weary the Reader. But we are altogether confident to make it manifest, by abundant instances, That the Depopulations in this Province of *Munster*, do well near equal those of the whole Kingdom. The Particulars whereof, as of the multitude of Inhuman Cruelties, were Collected and Reduced to several Instances, with ample Proof, by the many Months Endeavours of a Reverend Divine, one Arch-Deacon *Biss*, thereunto Authorized by vertue of a Commission under the Broad Seal of this Kingdom; who was most barbarously Murdered by the *Irish*, expressing that to be the cause. And because it may be thought requisite to touch something of the Deameanors of the *Irish* since the Cessation, as well as before; many *English* have been Murdered as they Travelled, with other Expressions of that utter Detestation of the *English*, that if any remain (which few do) nor surely will do, that can but breath elsewhere then must they be in a degree worse than any known Slavery: And likewise for other parts of the Cessation, they have been totally broken, and our Quarters, being of large Extent, universally taken from us, even to the Walls of our Garrisons; wherein we have often call'd to the chief of them for Justice; which being denied (or which is worse) delayed, want of means to justifie our selves leaves us without Remedy. All which we pour forth our Grievs and Supplications, above, to GOD alone; and here on Earth, to our *Dread Sovereign*.

Province of
Munster.

The Examination of Anne the late Wife of John Sherring, late of the Territory of Ormonde, near the Silver-Works in the County of Tipperary, aged about Twenty five Years, Sworn and Examined, deposed and saith,

THAT about *Candlemas* was two years, the said *John Sherring* her then Husband, going from his Farm, which he held from *John Kennedy*, Esq; near to the *Silver-Works*, one *Hugh Kennedy*, one of the Brothers of the said *John Kennedy*, a cruel Rebel, together with a great Multitude of *Irish* Rebellious Soldiers, then and there fiercely assaulted and set upon her said Husband, and upon one *William Brock*, *William Laughlin*, *Thomas Collop*, and Eight more *English* Protestant Men, and about ten Women, and upon some Children in their Company, and then and there stript them of their Cloaths, and then with Stones, Poleaxes, Skeins, Swords, Pikes, Darts, and other Weapons, most barbarously Massacred and Murdered her said Husband, and all those Protestant Men, Women, and Children: In the mean time of which Massacre, a most loud and fearful Noise and Storm of Thunder, Lightning, Wind, Hailstones and Rain began: The time being on a Sabbath-Day, about an hour before Night, the former part of that Day being all very fair, but that Thunder, Lightning and Tempest, happening suddenly after the Massacre was begun, much affrighted and terrified this Deponent and many others insomuch that those Murderers themselves confessed it to be a sign of Gods Anger and Threatning of them for such their then Cruelty; yet deterred them not, but they persisted in their Bloody Act, until they had Murdered those said *English* Protestants, and had Hack'd, Hew'd, Slash'd, Stabb'd, and so Massacred them, that many of them were cut all to Pieces; and her Husband for his part had Thirty Grievous Wounds then and there given him, (*viz.*) some through or near his Heart, Ten Mortal Wounds in his Head, Three in his Belly, and in either Arm Four, and the rest in his Thighs, Leggs, Back and Neck: And that Murder done, those barbarous Rebels tied Wyths about their Necks, and drew them out of the Refining Mill (where indeed they slew them) and threw them or most of them into a deep hole, (formerly made) one upon another, so that none of those Twenty three Men, Women, or Children, did escape Death: Howbeit, one *Tho. Ladell*, a Scots Man, and one *George Kelsy*, who then and there endured and had many grievous Wounds,

The IRISH Rebellion.

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Wounds, and being left on the Ground for Dead, crawled up (after the Rebels were gone away) and with much difficulty escaped with their Lives: And further saith, That such was God's Judgment upon the said *Hugh Kennedy*, for that bloody fact, that he presently fell into a most desperate Madnes and Distraction, and could not rest Day nor Night; yet coveting to do more Mischief upon the *English*, but being prevented, and denied to do it, he about a Week after Drowned himself in the next River to the *Silver-Works*, but his barbarous and wicked Soldiers went on in their wickedness, and afterwards bragged how they had killed a Minister and his Wife and four Children near the City of *Limerick*; and this Deponent is too well assured, that those and other *Irish* Rebels in that part of the Country, exercised and committed a great number of bloody Murders, Robberies, and Outrages upon the Persons and Goods of the Protestants, so as very few escaped with their Lives, and none at all saved their Goods. And further saith, That all the Popish Gentry in the Country thereabouts, especially all those of the *Septs*, and Names of the *O'Brians*, and the *Coghbluns*, and the *Kennedys*, were all Actors in the present Rebellion against his Majesty; and either acted, assisted incited or consented to all the Murders, Robberies, Cruelties, and Rebellious Acts aforesaid. And she further saith, That by means of the said Rebellion, her said Husband and she were at *Werinwood* about *Candelmas 1642*. Robbed and Deprived of their Cattel, Householdstuff, Corn, Mault, Provision, ready Money, Debts, the Benefit of their Lease, and other their Goods and Chattels, of the value, and to their Loss, of one hundred and threescore Pounds at the least; and that the said *John Kennedy* Esq; their Landlord, was the Man that so Deprived and Robbed them thereof; and the other Rebels stript her stark Naked. *Jurat. Febr. 10th. 1643.*

Henry Jones.

Anne Sherring.

Henry Brereton.

The Examination of John Goldsmith, Parson of Brashoul in the County of Mayo, Sworn and Examined, saith,

The Province
of Conaught.

THAT the Lord of *Mayo* being to Convoy all those of *Castle-Burre* to *Galway*, viz. *Sir Henry Bingham* with all his Company, and the Bishop of *Killalla* with all his Company, with many of the Neighbouring *English*, being about three Score in Number, whereof

whereof there were Fifteen Ministers, Covenanted with one *Edmund Bourk* for the safe Convoy of the same Parties upon a certain Day ; and the said Lord of *Mayo* appointed them all to meet him at *Belgharah*, having first separated this Deponent from them to attend his Lady in the Work of the Ministry. At which Day, the Titular Archbishop and the Lord of *Mayo* meeting with their whole number went on their Journey to *Shreul* ; at which place the Lord of *Mayo* left them in the Custody of the said named *Edmund Bourk* : But as one *Mr. Bringham* told the Deponent, the Lord of *Mayo* was not gone far from them, but the said *Edmund Bourk* drew out his Sword, directing the rest what they should do, and began to Massacre those Protestants, and accordingly some were Shot to Death, some stabb'd with Skeins, some run through with Pikes, some cast into the Water and Drowned, and the Women that were Striped Naked, lying upon their Husbands to save them, were run through with Pikes ; and very few of those *English* then and there escaped alive, but the most part were Murdered in the place : Amongst the rest, the Bishop of *Killalla* escaped with his Life, but was then and there Wounded in his Head ; and one *Mr. Crow* a Minister was then and there so beaten with Cudgels on his Feet, that he died shortly after. And this Deponent further saith, That in the Town of *Sligo* forty Persons of *English* and *Scottish*, were by the Rebels stript and lock'd up in a Cellar, and about Midnight a Butcher, which was sent unto them on purpose, with his Ax knocked them all on the Heads, and so then and there Murdered them : Which Butcher coming afterwards to *Castle Burre*, did there confess this Bloody Fact.

In *Tirawly* in the County of about Thirty or Forty *English* (formerly turned Papists) had their choice given them, whether they would Die by the Sword, or Drown themselves : They making choice of Drowning, were brought to the Sea-side by the Rebels, who had their Skeins drawn in their Hands, and forced them to wade into the Sea : The Mothers, with their Children in their Arms (crying for Drink) having waded to the Chin, at length cast or dived themselves and Children into the Sea, yeilding themselves to the Mastery of the Waves, and so Perished.

The Torments the Rebels would use to the Protestants to make them confess their Money, were these, *viz.* Some they would take and wrythe Wyths about their Heads, till the Blood sprang out of the Crown of their Heads ; others they would Hang until they were half Dead, then they would let them down ; and do the same so often over, until they confessed their Money. And

And this Deponent further saith, That a young Youth of about fifteen Years of Age, the Son of Mr. *Montgomery* the Minister, meeting a bloody Rebel who had been his Schoolmaster, this Rebel drew his Skein, and began furiously to Slash and Cut him therewith; the Boy cried unto him, *Good Master do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will*; nevertheless the merciless and cruel Rebel most Barbarously Murdered him.

A *Scotchman* Travelling in the High-way, with his Wife and Children, near *Sligo* were beset by the Rebels, who wounded and stabbed him with their Pikes, put him alive upon a Car, brought him to a Ditch, and Buried him alive, as the poor Wife afterwards (with great grief) told him this Deponent.

The Vicar of *Urras* turned Papist, and became Drummer to Captain *Bourk*, and was after Murdered for his Pains by the Rebels.

Another *Scotchman* near *Ballenhen* was Hanged by the Rebels.

*Furat 30 Decembris 1643. Jo. Goldsmith.
Henry Jones, Henry Brereton.*

The Examination of Jane, the Wife of Thomas Stewart, late of the Town and County of Sligo, Merchant; Sworn and Examined before His Majesties Commissioners in that behalf Authorized: Deposeth and saith, The Province of Conaught.

THAT after the present Rebellion was begun, viz. about the beginning of December 1641. her said Husband living as a Merchant in the Town aforesaid, with her this Deponent, as for Twenty six years he had done in very good Estate and Condition; and having continually furnished the Inhabitants of that part thereof with all Sorts of Wares and Merchandize; and by that Course having acquired and gained to himself an Estate of good Value: He the said Thomas Stewart, and She this Deponent, then Possessing that Estate, were then at *Sligo* aforesaid, by *Andrew Crean* of *Sligo* Esq; then High Sheriff of that County, *Neil O Hart* of *Donelly* in the said County Gent. *Roger O Connor* of *Skarden* in the same County, Gent. *Donnel O Connor* of *Sligo* Gent. Brother-in-Law to *Teige O Connor* *Sligo*, *Richard O Crean* of *Tirreragh* Gent. *John O Crean* Esq; and a Justice of Peace, Son to the said *Andrew Crean*, *Anthony Screan* of near *Ballyshany*, Gent. forcibly Deprived, Robbed and Despoiled of their

their Household-Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, Specialties, Cattel, Horses, Plate, Money, and other Goods and Chattels, to the Value of One Thousand Two Hundred Pounds *Sterl.* or thereabouts: Which Robbery or Outrage was Committed in or about the beginning of *December* aforesaid, at the very time of the Rebels Surprizing, Robbing and Pillaging of all the *English* and *Scots* of the Town of *Sligo*. In the doing whereof not only the Persons Rebels before named, but also *Teige O Connor Sligo*, now of the Castle of *Sligo*, General of the Rebels in those parts; *James French* of *Sligo* aforesaid, Esq; a Justice of the Peace (a Notorious and Cruel Rebel) *Brian O Connor* of *Drumcleer*, Gent. Captain *Charles O Connor* a Friar, and Captain *Hugh O Connor*, all three Captains, and Brothers to the said *Teige O Connor Sligo*, Captain *Patrick Plunket* near *Killoony* in the same County (a Justice of the Peace) Captain *Phelim O Connor*, Captain *Teige O Connor* of the *Glan*, Captain *Con. O Connor* of the same, and divers others whose Names she cannot for the present remember, were most forward and cruel Actors; and those Rebels having altogether deprived and stripped all the *British* of all their Estates they had, she this Deponent and her Husband, and many other *British* were left in that Town, and among the rest, there were left there, which she can well remember, *viz.* *William Braxton*, the Deponent and Her Husband and six Children, *James Scot* and his Son of the Age of four or five Years, *Sampson Port* and his Wife, *Mary Port* and her Father (of the Age of Seventy Years, or thereabouts) *John Little*, *Arthur Martin*, *William Dowlittle*, and his Wife and Children, *William Carter*, *John Lewes* and *Elizabeth* his Wife, *Robert Seyens*, *Elizabeth Harlow*, and one Woman that was great with Child, and within a Month of her time, *Isabel Beard*, who was great with Child, and very near her time, and others whom she cannot Name; which *British* People (although they were promised fair Quarters, and taken into the Protection of the said *Teige O Connor Sligo*, who promised them a Collection) yet they were daily threatned to be Murdered, if they would not turn Papists in one Month then next after; which for saving of their Lives they were enforced to do: Notwithstanding which, about the sixth of *January* then next following, the said *O Connor Sligo*, (having before called a Meeting of his Followers and Kindred, in the Counties of *Sligo* and *Letrim*, and considered with them, and with a Convnt of Fryers of the Abby of *Sligo* for three Days together, where they sat in Council) all the Men, Woman and Children of the *British* that then could be found within the same Town (saving this Deponent, who was so Sick that she could

not stir) were Summoned to go to the Goal, and as many as could be met withal were carried and put into the Goal, of *Sligo*, where about twelve a Clock in the Night they were Striped Stark Naked, and most of them were most cruelly and Barbourously Murdered with Swords, Axes and Skeins, and Particularly by two Butchers, Named *James Buts* and *Robert Buts* of *Sligo*, who Murdered many of them; wherein also was Actors *Charles O Connor* the Fryer, and *Hugh O Connor* aforementioned, Brother to the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, and *Teige O Sheile*, *Kedagh O Hart* Labourer, *Richard Walsh* and *Thomas Walsh*, The one the Jaylor, the other a Butcher, and divers others whom she cannot Name: And saith, That above thirty of the *British* which were so put into the Goal, were then and there Murdered; besides *Robert Gumble*, then Provost of the said Town of *Sligo*, *Edward Newshaw*, and *Edward Mercer*, who were Wounded and left for Dead amongst the Rest, and *Jo. Stewart* this Deponents Son, which four being the next Day found alive, yet all besmeared with Blood, were spared to live. All which Particulars the Deponent was Credibly told by those that so escaped, and by her *Irish* Servants, and others of the Town; and saith, that some of the Women so Murdered being big with Child (by their Wounds received) the very Arms and Legs of the Children in their Wombs appeared and were thrust out; and one Woman, viz. *Isabel Beard*, being in the House of the Fryers, and hearing the Lamentable Cry that was made, ran into the Street, and was pursued by one of the Fryers Men unto the River, where she was Barbarously Murdered, and found the next Day with the Childs Feet appearing, and thrust out of her Wounds in her sides. And further saith, That on the said sixth Day of *January* there were Murdered in the Streets of the Town of *Sligo*, these *British* Protestants following, viz. *William Sheiles* and *John Sheiles* his Son, *William Mapwel* and *Robert Akin*. And the Deponent further saith, (as she was Credibly informed by the Persons before-Named) that the Inhuman Rebels after their Murders committed in the said Goal, laid and placed some of the Dead Bodies of the Naked Murdered Men upon the Naked Bodies of the Women, in a most immodest Posture, not fit for chaste Ears to hear: In which Posture they continued to be seen the next Morning by those *Irish* of the Town that came into the said Goal, who were delighted and rejoiced in those Bloody Murders and uncivil Actions. And that they of the *Irish* that came to Bury them, stood up to the Mid-leg in the Blood and Brains of those that were so Murdered, who were carried out and cast into a Pit digged for that purpose in the Garden of

The IRISH Rebellion.

Mr. Ricorfts, Minister of *Sligo*. And she further saith, That where-
as the River of *Sligo*, was before very Plentifful of Fish, it did not
for a long time after those Murders, afford any Fish at all: And this
Deponent saw the Fryers in their White Habits, in great Com-
panies in Procession, going to Sanctifie the Water, casting thereinto
Holy Water: She saith also, That the Prior of the Convent of *Sligo*,
after the Murder of the said Woman in the River, fell Frantick, and
ran so about the Street, and continued in that Frenzy for three or four
Weeks: And saith, That of her six Children, there were three
Starved and Died, after her Release of Imprisonment, which had
been for eighteen Months among the Rebels.

Furat, 23 Aprilis 1644.

Henery Jones.

Henry Brereton.

Signum predict. VVV.

Janae Stewart, alias

Menize.

Province of
Ulster.

Captain Anthony Stratford of Charlemont in the County of
Armagh Esq; Aged threescore Years, or thereabouts; Sworn
and Examined before His Majesties Commissioners, by Vertue
of a Commission in that behalf, directed under the Great Seal
of Ireland, Deposeth and saith,

THAT these Protestant Ministers following, about the Beginning of
the present Rebellion, were Murdered in the Counties of
Tyrone, Armagh, viz. Mr. John Matthew, Mr. Blyth, Mr. Hastings, Mr.
Smith, Mr. Durragh, Mr. Birge, and eight more whose Names this
Deponent has forgotten, by the Rebels, none of which would the
Rebels permit to be Buried; the Names of such Murdered, this Exa-
minant knoweth not; his cause of knowledge of the said Murders
is, that some of his this Deponents Servants, who were among the
Rebels, did give him this Relation, and he verily believeth them;
and besides, this Deponent heard the same Confessed and averred by
many of the Rebels themselves, and by some of the Protestants that
had Escaped; and that he this Deponent was a Prisoner among the
Rebels at *Castle-Causfield*, near the Place of those Murders, were he
continued fourteen Months. And further saith, That in *Dungannon*, in
the County of *Tyrone*, or near thereunto, the Rebels Murdered three
Hundred and sixteen Protestants; and between *Charlemount* and *Dun-*
gannon, above four Hundred, that were Murdered and Drowned at
and

and in the River by *Benburb*, the *Black-Water*, between the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, two Hundred and six Protestants; and *Patrick Mac-Grew* of *Dungannon* aforesaid, Murdered thirty one in one Morning; and two Young Rebels, viz. *John Begbrian* and *Hary*, Murdered in the said County of *Tyrone*, one Hundred and forty Poor Woman and Children that could make no Resistance; and that the Wife of *Brian Kelly* of *Loghal* in the County of *Armagh* (one of the Rebels Captains) did with her own Hands Murder forty five. And this Deponent further saith, That one *Thomas King*, sometimes Serjeant to the late Lord *Caulfield's* Company (which this Deponent Commanded) he being inforced to serve under the Rebels, and was one of their Provost Marshals, gave the Deponent a List of every Housholders Name so Murdered, and the Number of the Persons so Murdered; which List this Deponent durst not keep. At *Portadown* there were Drowned at several times about three Hundred and eight, who were sent away by forty, or such-like Numbers at once, with Convoys, and there drowned; There was a Lough near *Loghal* aforesaid, where were Drowned above two Hundred, of which this Deponent was informed by several Persons, and Particularly by the Wife of *Dr. Hodges*, and two of her Sons, who were present, and designed for the like End; but by Goods Mercy that gave them favour in the Eyes of some of the Rebels, they Escaped; and the said Mrs. *Hodges* and her two Sons gave this Deponent a List of the Names of many of those that were so Drowned, which the Deponent durst not keep; and saith that the said *Dr. Hodges* was employed by *Sir Phelim O Neal*, to make Powder; but he failing of his undertaking, was first half Hanged, then cut down, and kept Prisoner three Months, and then Murdered with forty four more within a Quarter of a Mile of *Charlemount* aforesaid, (they being by *Turlough O Neal*, Brother to *Sir Phelim*, sent to *Dungannon* Prisoners, and in the Way Murdered.) This Deponent was shewed the Pit where they were all cast in.

At a Mill-Pond in the Parish of *Killamen*, in the County of *Tyrone*, there were Drowned in one Day three Hundred; and in the same Parish there were Murdered of *English* and *Scottish* twelve Hundred, as this Deponent was informed by *Mr. Birge*, the late Minister of the said Parish, who certified the same under his Hand, which Note the Deponent durst not keep: The said *Mr. Birge* was Murdered three Months after: All which Murders were in the first breaking out of the Rebellion, but the Particular times this Deponent cannot remember, neither the Persons by whom they were committed. This

Depo-

Deponent was Credibly informed by the said Serjeant, and others of this Deponent Servants (who kept Company with the Rebels, and saw the same) that many young Children were cut into Quarters and Gobbets by the Rebels, and that eighteen Scots Infants were Hanged on a Clothiers Tenterhook, and that they Murdered a Young Fat *Scotishman*, and made Candles of his Grease; they took another *Scotishman* and ripped up his Belly, that they might come to his small Guts, the one End thereof they tied to a Tree, and made him go round until he had drawn them all out of his Body; they then saying, That they would try whether a Dogs, or a *Scotchmans* Guts were the longest.

Anthony Stratford.

Deposed March 9th 1643. before us.

Henry Jones. Henry Brereton.

Province of
Ulster.

The Examination of Robert Maxwell Clerk, Arch-Deacon of Down, Sworn and Examined, Deposeth and Saith, inter alia,

THAT by Command from Sir *Phelim O Neal*, the Rebels dragged the Deponents Brother, Lieutenant *James Maxwell*, out of his Bed, in the Rage and height of a Burning Fever; and least any of his Acquaintance or Friends should Bury him, they carried him two Miles from any Church, and there Cruelly Butchered him, when he neither knew what he did or said, and thus Sir *Phelim*, paid him two Hundred and sixty Pounds, which he owed him: And his Wife *Grisset Maxwell* being in Child-Birth, the Child half Born and half un-born, they Stript her Stark Naked, drove her about an Arrows flight to the *Black-Water*, and drowned her: The like they did to another *English* Woman in the same Parish, in the Beginning of the Rebellion, which was little inferiour, if not more unnatural and Barbarous, than the Roasting of Mr. *Watson* alive, after they had cut a Collop out of either Buttock. And farther saith, That a *Scots* Woman was found in the *Glinwood* lying Dead her Belly ripped up, and a living Child crawling in her Womb cut out of the Cawl; and that Mr. *Starkey*, School-Master at *Armagh*, a Gentleman of good Parentage and Parts, being upwards of an Hundred Years of age, they, Stript Naked, caused two of his Daughters, Virgins, being likewise Naked, to support him under each Arm, he being not able to go of him.

himself; and in that Posture carried them all three a Quarter of a Mile, to a Turff-Pit, and Drowned them, feeding the Lusts of their Eyes and the Cruelty of their Hearts with the self-same Objects at the same time. At the Siege of *Augher*, they would not kill any *English* Beast, and then Eat it, but they cut Collops out of them being alive, letting them there Roar till they had no more Flesh upon their Backs, so that sometimes a Beast would live two or three Days together in that Torment; the like they did at *Armagh*, when they Murdered *Hugh Ecklin* Esq; they Hanged and Murdered all his *Irish* Servants which had any way proved faithful or useful to him during this Rebellion. And as touching Exemplary Constancy in Religion, this Deponent saith, That *Henry Covel* Esq; a Gallant and well Bred Gentleman, was Murdered because he would not consent to Marry a Beastly Troll, *Mary O Neil*, a near Kinswoman of Sir *Pbelim's*: He was profered his Life without the Blouse, if he would have gone to Mass, but he chose rather to Die, than to do either. There was made the like proffer of Life for going to Mass, to *Robert Ecklin*, a Child of eleven or twelve Years of Age, but he also refused it saying, *He saw nothing in their Religion for which he would change his own*. And this Deponent further saith, That very many of the *British* Protestants the Rebels Buried alive, and took great Pleasure to hear them speak unto them, as they digged down old Ditches upon them; except those whom they thus Buried, they Buried none of the Protestants, neither would permit any that survived to perform that Duty for them: And further saith, That the Rebels would send their Children Abroad in great Troops, especially near unto *Kinnard*, Armed with long Wattles and Whips, who would therewith beat Dead Mens Bodies about their privy Members, until they beat or rather thrashed them off, and then would return in great joy to their Parents, who received them for such Service as it were in Triumph. And further saith, That if any Women were found Dead lying with their Faces downward, they would turn them upon their Backs, and in great Flocks resort unto them, Censuring all Parts of their Bodies, but especially such as are not fit to be Named, which afterwards they abused so many ways, and so filthily, as chaste Ears would not endure the very Naming thereof.

Many of the Protestants the Rebels would not kill out-right, but being half Dead, would so leave them; entreating for no better favour at their Hands two or three Days after, but to kill them out-right, which sometimes was granted, sometimes denied.

A young Youth having his Back-Bone broken, was found in a Field having like a Beast eaten all the Grass round about him; the Deponent could not learn that they killed him cut, but that they removed him to a Place of better Pasture; so that in those most Bloody and execrable Wretches, that of the Holy Ghost is clearly verified, *The very Mercy of the Wicked is Cruelty*: And further saith, That the Rebels themselves told him this Deponent, that they Murdered 954 in one Morning in the County of *Antrim*; and that besides them, they supposed that they killed above 1100 or 1200 more, in that County: They told him likewise, that Colonel *Bryan O Neil*, killed about 1000 in the County of *Down*, besides 300 killed near *Killeleigh*, and many Hundreds both before and after in both those Counties.

At Sir *Phelim's* return from *Lisnegarvy*, some of the Soldiers forced about twentyfour *British* into a House, where they Burned them alive whose Terrible out-cries they desired very much to imitate and express unto others; saith, That he heard Sir *Phelim* likewise report, that he killed six Hundred *English* at *Garvagh* in the County of *Derry*; and that he had left neither Man, Woman, nor Child alive in the Barony of *Munterlong* in the County of *Tyrone*, and betwixt *Armagh* and the *Newry*, in the several Plantations and Lands of Sir *Archibald Archibson*, *John Hamilton Esq*; the Lord *Causfield*, and the Lord *Mount Norrice*: And saith also, That there were above 2000 of the *British* Murdered for the most part in their own Houses; whereof he was informed by a *Scotsman*, who was in those parts with Sir *Phelim*, and saw their Houses filled with their Dead Bodies. In the *Glinwood* towards *Dromore*, there were Slaughtered, as the Rebels told the Deponent, upwards of twelve Thousand in all, who were all killed in their Flight to the County of *Down*: The Number of the People Drowned at the Bridge of *Portadown*, are diversly reported according as Men staid amongst the Rebels, this Deponent who staid as long as any, and had better Intelligence then most of the *English* amongst them, and had best Reason to know the Truth, saith, There were (by their own Report) 190 Drowned with Mr. *Fullerton*: At another time they threw 140 over the said Bridge: At another time 36 or 37 and so continued Drowning more or less for seven or eight Weeks, so as the fewest which can be supposed there to have Perished, must needs be above 1000 besides as many more Drowned betwixt that Bridge and the great Lough of *Montjoy*, besides, those who Perished by the Sword, Fire and Famine, in *Coubraffil*, and the *English* Plantations adjacent: Which in regard there escaped not 300 out of all those Quarters, must needs amount to many Thousands.

Near

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Near unto the Deponents House thirty six Persons were carried to the *Burre-Bridge* at one time and Drowned. At another time six and fifty, Men, Women and Children; all of them being taken out of the Deponents House; and at several other times several other Numbers; Besides those that were Drowned in the *Black-Water* and *Rinnard*. In which Town and the Parish of *Tinon*, (whereof this Deponent was Rector) there was Drowned, Slaughtered and Died of Famine, and for want of Cloathes, about six Hundred. The Deponent might add to these many Thousands more; but the Diary which he this Deponent wrote amongst the Rebels being Burned, with his House, Books and all his Papers; he referreth himself to the Number in gross, which the Rebels themselves have upon inquiry, found out and acknowledged; which Notwithstanding will come short of all that have been Murdered in *Ireland*; there being above one Hundred and fifty four Thousand now wanting of the *British* within the very Percinct of *Ulster*.

The Num.
bers of Bri-
tish destroy'd
within the
Province of
Ulster.

And this Deponent further saith, That it was Common Table-talk amongst the Rebels, that the Ghost of *Mr. William Falkerton*, *Timothy Jephys*, and the most of those who were thrown over *Portadown-Bridge*, were Daily and Nightly seen to walk upon the River, sometimes Singing of Psalms, sometimes Brandishing of naked Swords, sometimes Scritchng in a most Hideous and fearful manner. The Deponent did not believe the same at first, neither doth he yet know whether to believe it or no; but saith that divers of the Rebels assured him that they themselves did dwell near to the same River, and being Daily affrighted with those Apparitions, but especially with their horrible Scritchng, were in Conclusion forced to remove further into the Country: Their own Priests and Fryers could not deny the Truth thereof. But as it was by the Deponent Objected unto them, said it was but a Cunning slight of the Devil to hinder this great Work of Propagating the Catholick Faith, and killing of Hereticks; or that it was wrought by Witchcraft. The Deponent himself lived within thirteen Miles of the Bridge, and never heard any Man so much as doubt of the Truth thereof. Howsoever, obligeth no Mans Faith, in regard he saw it not with his own Eyes; other wise he had as much certainty as Morally could be required of such a Matter.

And this Deponent further saith; That the degenerate *Pale-Eng-lish*, were most cruel amongst the *British* Protestants, being beaten from their own Lands; and were never satisfied with their Blood, untill they had in a manner seen the last drop thereof; affrighting *She-*

R

Phelim

The IRISH Rebellion.

Phelim O Neal, every Day with their Numbers, and perswading him, That whilst they (meaning the Protestants) lived, there would neither be Room for them, nor safety for him. It was easie to spur on the Cowardly and Bloody Rebel; yet no sooner were the Protestants cut off, but contrary to their Expectation, the Meer *Irish* took present Possession, of their Lands and Houses; whereat the *Pale-English* much grumbled; and said Sir *Phelim* had not kept his promise with them; howsoever, they were forced to swallow those and many other injuries.

And further saith, That he knew one Boy that dwelt near unto himself, and not exceeding fourteen Years of age, who killed at *Kinnard*, in one, Night, fifteen able Strong Men with his Skein, they being disarmed, and most of their Feet in the Stocks.

Another not above twelve Years of age, killed two Women at the Siege of *Augher*.

Another that was a Woman and Tenant to this Deponent, killed seven Men, and Women, of her Fellow *English* Tenants, in one Morning. And it was very usual in all Parts, for the Rebels Children to Murder the Protestants Children; and sometimes with Lath-Swords heavy, and well sharppned, they would venture upon People of riper Years, Cruelties not to be believed, if there were not so many Eye-witnesses of them.

Robert Maxwell.

Deposed 22d of August, 1643.

Henry Brereton. William Aldrich.

The Province
of Leinster.

The Examination of *Dam Ann Butler*, Wife unto Sir *Thomas Butler* of *Rathealin* in the County of *Catherlough*, Knight; duly Sworn, Deposeth,

THAT after *Walter Bagnal* of *Danlickny*, in the County of *Catherlough*, Esq; and *Walter Butler*, with a great Number of Men, had in a violent Manner entred this Deponent's House, they not able to resist, they set strict Guard over this Deponent, her Husband and Family, and brought them from their settled Dwelling unto *Loughlin-Bridge*, where they kept her self, her Husband and Children in Restraint for two Weeks, and from thence conveyed them with a strict Guard to the Town of *Kilkenny*; and there they were brought before the Lord *Mount-Garrot*; where *Walter Bagnal* and *James Butler*, Brother to the Lord *Mount-Garrot*, did use all Means possible to

move

move the said Lord to put his Deponent, her Husband and Family, to Death and Torture; alledging that they were rank Puritan Protestants; and desperately provoking, used these Words, saying, *There's but one Way, we or they, meaning Papists or Protestants, must perish.* To which malicious Provocation the said Lord did not hearken. And this Deponent further deposeth, That *Walter Bagnal*, with his rebellious Company, apprehended *Richard Lake* an *English* Protestant, and his Servant, with his Wife and four Children, and one *Richard Taylor* of *Loghlin-Bridge*, his Wife and Children, *Samuel Hatter* of the same, his Wife and Children, an *English* Woman called *Joan*, and her Daughter; and was credibly inform'd by *Dorothy Renals*, who had been several Times an Eye-witness of these lamentable Spectacles, that she had seen to the Number of five and thirty *English* going to Execution; and that she had seen them when they were executed, their Bodies exposed to devouring Ravens, and not afforded so much as Burial. Another *English* Woman, who was newly delivered of two Children in one Birth, they violently compelled her in her great Pain and Sicknes, to rise from her Child-bed, and took the Infant that was left alive, and dashed his Brains against the Stones, and after threw him into the River of the *Barrow*: And having a Piece of Salmon to Dinner, Mr. *Brian Cavanagh's* Wife being with her, she the said Mrs. *Cavanagh* refused to eat any Part of the Salmon, and being demanded the Reason, she said she would never eat any Fish that came out of the *Barrow*, because she had seen several Infants Bodies, and other Carcases of the *English* taken up in the Weir.

And this Deponent saith, That Sir *Edward Butler* did credibly inform her, That *James Butler* of *Finyhinch* had hanged and put to Death all the *English* that were at *Goran* and *Wells*, and all thereabouts. And further deposeth, That she being in *Kilkenny* a Prisoner in Restraint, and having Intelligence that some of her own Cattel were brought thither by *Walter Bagnal*, she petition'd (being in great Extremity) to the Lord of *Mount Garrot*, to procure her some of her own Cattel for her Relief; whereupon he recommended her Suit to the Mayor and Corporation of *Kilkenny*; who concluded, Because she and her Family were Protestants, and would not turn to Mass, they should have no Relief. *Jane Jones*, Servant to the Deponent, did see the *English* formerly specified, going to their Execution; and as she conceived they were about the Number of thirty five and was told by *Elizabeth Homes*, that there were forty gone to Execution.

Furat. 7th, Sept. 1642.

John Watson.

Ann Butler.

The

The Province
of Leinster.

The Examination of Joseph Wheeler of Stancarty, in the County of Kilkenny Esq; Elizabeth the Relict of Lieutenant William Gilbert, of Captain Ridgway's Company; Rebecca Hill, the Relict of Thomas Hill, late Lieutenant to the said Captain Ridgway; Thomas Lewis, late of Kilkenny, Gent. Jonas Wheeler of Stancarty aforesaid, Gent. and Patrick Maxwell of the Graige, in the same County, Gent. sworn and examined, depose and say,

THAT about *Easter 1642*, one *Richard Philips* and five others, who were old *Garison Soldiers*, then under the Command of *Captain Farrel*, a Captain of his Majesties Party, were by the Command of the *Lord Mount Garrot*, at the End of a House in *Kilkenny*, hanged to Death by that cruel and bloody Rebel and Provost Marshal *Thomas Cantwel*, of *Cantwel-Court Esq;* or some of his Servants or Soldiers in his Presence, who would hardly suffer them to say their Prayers after they were taken out of the Prison, before they were put to Death; those poor Men dying very patiently and Resolutely, in the Maintainance of the Protestant Faith; but one of them, because he was an *Irish Man*, was offered his Life if he would turn Papist; but he rather chose Death, which he quickly had with the other five.

And further say, That a little before *Christmas 1641*. *Mr. William Hill* of the Abby of _____ in the *Queen's County*, Esq; and the said Lieutenant *Thomas Hill* his Son, coming to *Kilkenny*, to fetch home *Mary Hill*, the Wife of him the said *William Hill*, and the said *Rebecca*; one of these Deponents were then and there sent for by the *Lord Mount Garrot*, and by him committed Prisoners to the Goal of *Kilkenny*; where they continued in a dark Dungeon bolted for two Months, but were offered Freedom if they would join with the Rebels, and become Papists; but they refused, and after the said *Lord Mount Garrot* was gone into *Munster* with his Forces, (which was an Example to all the rest of the wicked *Irish* there, to rise unto Rebellion) one *Florence Fitz Patrick* of *Castletown* in the *Queen's County*, Esq; a Captain of the Rebels, and his Soldiers came to *Kilkenny*, and then and there (without Resistance of any) broke open the Goal there, and forcibly took and carried away with them into *Ossory* aforesaid, the said *William* and *Thomas Hill*, where they kept them in miserable Durance for some Time, and then hanged them both; and

a poor young Girl being sent from the Town of *Ballinekil*, to see what was become of them; and the said *Florence Fitz Patrick* meeting her, caused her to be half hang'd, then letten down, and after to be buried quick: And by Report of one *Joan Grace*, (that said she was an Eye-witness) the Rebels threw the dead Bodys of the said *William* and *Thomas Hill*, into a Saw-pit, leaving them so far unburied, that their Heads and Legs lay bare, until she came and cover'd them with Earth, about a Week after: And further saith, That they have credibly heard and believed, that the said *Florence Fitz Patrick* having enticed a rich Merchant of *Montrath* to his the said *Fitz Patrick's* House, to bring thither his Goods which he promised should be safely protected, and safely re-delivered; he, the said *Florence Fitz Patrick*, possessing those Goods, afterwards caused the said Merchant and his Wife to be hang'd; and they have credibly heard, that the said *Florence Fitz Patrick* also hang'd Lieutenant *Keies* and his Son, one *Hughes* a Shool-master, and divers other Protestants: And these Deponents further say, that Mr. *Edmond Butler*, eldest Son to the Lord *Mount Garrot*, *Edward Butler* his second Son, Captain *Garret Blankfield*, and divers other rebellious Commanders and Soldiers, to the Number of 6 or 700 Horse and Foot, a little before *Michaelmas*, 1642. march'd from *Balliragget*, near to the Iron Forge of *Ballinekil*, and there met with Lieutenant *Gilbert* asorenamed Ensign, *William Alfry* the younger, Mr. *Thomas Bingham* the Minister, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bently*, and about sixty more of the *English* Soldiers, both the same Parties joined in Battel; but the *English* Soldiers, though fighting valiantly, and killed many Rebels (and one *Walter Butler*, a Captain amongst the rest) were at last so overcome with Multitudes of the Rebels, that then and there they, the said Lieutenant *Gilbert*, *William Alfry*, *Thomas Bingham*, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bently*, and two other *English* Soldiers were absolutely slain, and the Heads of all those seven carried to *Kilkenny* by those Rebels, (their Pipes for Joy playing before them on Horse-back) and on a Market Day which hapned to be on the next Day following, those Heads as Triumphs of their Victories, there brought out and set upon the Market-cross, where the Rebels, but especially the Women there, and amongst the rest *Elice Butler*, a reputed Mother of several Bastards, yet the Daughter of the said *Mount Garrot*, stab'd, cut and slash't those Heads (the said *Elice Butler* drawing her Skein, slash't the Face of the said *William Alfry*, and hit him on the Nose, and those that could but get a Blow or Stab at those Heads; seemed to account themselves happy: And the Rebels then and there put a Gag in the Mouth

of

of the said *Thomas Bingham* the Minister, and laying the Leaf of a Bible before him, bad him Preach, saying, His Mouth was open and wide enough; and one of those lewd Virago's that had no Weapons, struck one of the Heads so with her Hand, that the same Night her Hand grew black and blew, rankled, and she was extreemly lame with it a Quarter of a Year after, and that Lameness and the Swelling thereof growing to an Issue, is like to continue till she die: And another of those Women that with great rejoicing went and saw those Heads, did quickly after the Sight thereof, fall into such an Astonishment and Distraction, that for three or four Days after, she could not sleep nor rest, but cried out, that still she saw those Heads before her Eyes, which Heads being said by the Rebels to be the Heads of Hereticks, were not afforded Christian Burial, but buried without the City in a cross High-way, altogether in a Hole; the Buriers chopping and cutting the Heads with their Spades, as they threw Mold upon them. And to make the Manner of their Burial, and the Heads themselves yet more contemptible; the Rebels (over the Hole where the Heads were laid) set up a long Stick, whereto they fixed Papers, that all may take Notice of the Place: And after and from that Time, the rebellious and roguish Boys, took up, and frequently used an Oath, *By the Cross of the seven Devils Heads buried on Saint James's Green.* And further say, that upon the Testimony of a roguish Boy, that an *English* Man that was a Maulster to one *Richard Shaw* of *Kilkenny*, had said, *He would believe the Devil as soon as the Pope;* the cruel Rebel, the Provost Marshal *Cantwell* aforementioned, suddenly took and hanged him up in an Apple-tree till he died: And further saith, that one *Uncil Grace*, and diverse other Rebels in *Kilkenny*, broke open the Doors of the Cathedral Church there, and robbed the same Church of the Chalice, Surplices, Ornaments, Books, Records and Writings there being; and made Gunpowder in *Saint Patrick's* Church, and digged the Tombs and Graves in the Churches in *Kilkenny*, under Colour of getting up Molds whereon to make Gunpowder: And these Deponents have credibly heard, and verily believe, that the Rebels at *Goran* took 25 Protestants, Men, Women and Children, and pretending and promising them a Convoy to *Dungan-non*, hanged them dead in the Way, in a Wood near *Newross*, and that the Rebels half hang'd five more Protestants at *Ballaragget*, by the Command of the said Captain *Edward Butler*, and the said *Thomas Cantwel* the Marshal, and letting them down again before they were dead, suffered them somewhat to recover; and then buried them quick: And these Deponents *Thomas Lewis*, *Patrick Maxwell*, further

further say, That as they have been credibly told by *Walter Archer* of *Kilkenny* a Rebel, That a poor *English* Man's Wife that went out to gather Sticks, at a Place about two Miles from *Kilkenny*, was taken and hang'd up by the Rebels: And the Deponents *Elizabeth Gilbert*, *Patrick Maxwell*, further say, That a poor Woman and two Children, she being the Wife of one *Harvy* of *Ballinekil*, coming to *Kilkenny* about *Candlemas* was twelve Month, were then and there Assaulted and set upon by the Rebellious Inhabitants of that City, and hunted, baited and drawn with Dogs, cruelly stab'd with Skeins, and so miserably used, that one of the Children died presently (having the Guts pluckt out) and the Deponent *Patrick Maxwell* further saith, There were taken out of *Graige* by the Rebels, and hang'd to death, one *John Stone* and his Wife, and his Son *William Valentine*; *Robert Pym* and his Wife, one of their Children of a Year and a half old; and *Thomas White* a Merchant and his Wife, who being great with Child, had her Belly ripped up after she was hang'd, so as the Child fell out of the Cawl alive: *Walter Sherly*, *Mrs. Joan Salter* an antient Widow, one *John* a Servant to *Stone* aforementioned; the Rebels that hang'd them were *Garret Forestal* of *Knockive*, and *Gibbon Forrestal* of *Tinyhinch*, and the eldest Son of *Richard Barron*, alias, *Fitz Geraldin* of *Knockeen* aforesaid, and divers others whom he cannot name, all of the County of *Catherlough*; which said *Robert Pym* after he was hang'd up twice, prov'd alive in his Grave, and struck his Hand upon his Breast, saying, *Christ receive my Soul*, and with those Words in his Mouth, was then there buried quick; and one of those poor Protestants at *Goran*, by Name *Tristram Robinson*, the Rebel's hang'd him twice, thrust him through with Darts, but he still continuing alive, and speaking, they buried them quick: And this Deponent *Jonas Wheeler* further saith, That an old *English* Protestant, who was a Shepherd, and his Wife going from *Kilkenny* towards *Ballidownel*, the Rebels hang'd up the poor old Man, and going a little off, his Wife perceiving Breath in her Husband, said unto him, *Oh Joy you are alive yet*; which some of the Rebelsover-hearing, hang'd him out-right, and dragg'd him up and down until his Bowels fell out, then his Wife desired them to hang her too, but they refused: And saith, That this Deponent asking the Rebels of *Kilkenny*, How they durst do what they did, considering the King was against them? They answered, That if the King would not hold with them, they could have fourty Thousand to come to assist them out of *France* and *Spain*, and bring Ammunition and Arms enough, and all Things necessary, and fight against the King and the *English*. And the

The IRISH Rebellion.

the Deponent *Elizabeth Gilbert* further saith, That she heard one *James Eustace* a Servant to the Rebel Collonel *Cullen*, say publickly in *Mr. Joseph Wheeler's* House in *Kilkenny*, Let the King take heed, for if they (meaning the *Irish*) had not their own Desires, they would bring in a foreign King; and one *Tristram Dyer* a Protestant was (as his Wife told this Deponent) murdered in a Wood with his own Hatchet, and covered with Leaves and Moss.

Examinations touching the Apparitions at Portnedown-Bridge, within the Province of Ulster

James Shaw of Market-hill in the County of *Amagh*, Inn-keeper, Deposeth, That many of the *Irish* Rebels, in the time of this Deponents restraint, and staying among them, told him very often, and it was a common report that all that lived about the Bridge of *Portnedown*, were so Affrighted with the Cries and Noise made there of some Spirits or Visions for Revenge, as they durst not stay but fled away thence; so as they protested, affrighted to *Market Hill*, saying, They durst not stay nor return thither for fear of those Cries and Spirits, but took Grounds and made Creats in or near the Parish of *Mullabrack*. Jurat. August 14. 1642.

Joan the Relict of *Gabriel Constable*, late of *Drumard* in the County of *Armagh*, Gent. Deposeth and saith, That She hath often heard the Rebels, *Owen O Farren*, *Patrick O Connellan*, and divers others of the Rebels at *Drumard*, earnestly say, protest, and tell one another, that the Blood of some of those that were knockt in the Heads, and afterwards Drowned at *Portnedown-Bridge*, still remained on the Bridge, and would not be washed away; and that often there appeared Visions or Apparitions, sometimes of Men, sometimes of Women, breast-high above the Water, at or near *Portnedown*, which did most extreemly and fearfully Scritch and Cry out for Vengeance against the *Irish* that had Murdered their Bodies there; and that their Crys and Scritches did so terrify the *Irish* thereabouts, that none durst stay nor live longer there, but fled and removed further into the Country, and this was a common report amongst the Rebels there, and that it passed for a Truth amongst them, for any thing she could ever Observe to the contrary, Jurat. Jan. 1. 1643.

Catherine the Relict of *William Coke*, late of the County of *Armagh* Carpenter, Sworn and Examined, saith, That about the 20th of December, 1641. a great number of Rebels in that County, did most

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barbarously drown at that time one Hundred and eighty Protestants, Men, Women and Children in the River at the Bridge of *Portnedown*; and that about nine Days afterwards, she saw a Vision or Spirit in the Shape of a Man, as she apprehended, that appeared in that River, in the Place of the Drowning, bolt upright Breast-high, with Hands lifted up, and stood in that Posture there until the latter End of *Lent* next following: About which time some of the *English* Army marching in those Parts, whereof her Husband was one (as he and they confidently affirmed to this Deponent,) saw that Spirit or Vision standing up-right, and in the Posture aforementioned; but after that time the said Spirit or Vision vanished and appear'd no more that she knoweth. And she heard, but saw not, that there were other Visions and Apparitions, and much Screechings and strange Noise heard in that River at times afterwards. *Jurat. February, 24th 1643.*

Elizabeth, the Wife of Captain *Rice Price*, of *Armagh*, deposeth and saith, That she and other Women, whose Husbands were murdered, hearing of divers Apparitions and Visions which were seen near *Portnedown-Bridge*, since the Drowning of her Children, and the rest of the Protestants there, went unto the Bridge aforesaid about Twilight in the Evening; then and there upon a sudden there appeared unto them a Vision or Spirit, assuming the Shape of a Woman, Waste-high upright in the Water, Naked, with elevated and closed Hands, her Hair hanging down very white, her Eyes seemed to twinkle, and her Skin as white as Snow; which Spirit seemed to stand up straight in the Water, often repeated the Word *Revenge, Revenge, Revenge*, whereat this Deponent and the rest being put into a strong amazement and affright walked from the Place. *Jurat. January 29th 1642.*

Arthur Clum of *Clomoughter*, in the County of *Cavan*, Esq; deposeth, That he was credibly informed by some that were present there, that there were thirty Woman and young Children, and seven Men flung into the River of *Belturbert*, and when some of them offered to swim for their Lives, they were by the Rebels followed in Cots, and knocked on the Heads with Poles; the same Day they hanged two Women at *Turbert*; and this Deponent doth verily believe, that *Mulmore O'Rely* the then Sheriff, had a Hand in the Commanding the Murder of those said Persons, for that he saw him write two Notes which he sent to *Turbert* by *Brian Rely*, upon whose coming these Murders were committed: And those Persons who were present also affirmed, that the Bodies of those thirty Persons

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drowned did not appear upon the Water till about six Weeks after past; as the said *Reby* came to the Town, all the Bodies came floating up to the very Bridge; those Persons were all formerly stayed in the Town by his Protection, when the Rest of their Neighbours in the Town went away.

Elizabeth Price, Wife of *Michael Price*, of the *Newry*, deposeth, That Sir *Con Mac-Gennis* suffered his Soldiers, the Rebels, to kill Mr. *Turge*, Minister of the *Newry*, and several other Protestants; and he the said Sir *Con Mac-Gennis* on his Death-Bed was so much affrighted with Apprehension, that the said Mr. *Turge* so slain, was still in his Presence, as that he commanded no Protestants from that Time should be slain, but what should be killed in Battel; and after his Death, Sir *Con Mac-Gennis* his Brother, would have observed his Directions, but one *John Mac-Gennis* the young Lord of *Evah* and *Monk Crely* were earnest to have all the rest of the Protestants put to Death.

Mr. *George Creighton*, Minister of *Virginia*, in the County of *Cavan*, deposeth among other Particulars in his Examination, That divers Women brought into his House a young Woman almost naked, to whom a Rogue came upon the Way, these Women being present, and required her to give him her Money, or else he would kill her, and so drew his Sword: Her Answer was, You cannot kill me, unless God give you Leave, and his Will be done: Whereupon the Rogue thrust three Times at her naked Body with his drawn Sword, and yet never pierced her Skin; whereat he being, as it seems much confounded, went away and left her; and that he saw this Woman, and heard this Particular related by divers Women, who were by and saw what they reported.

U Pon the View of these Examinations all taken upon Oath, it may easily be conjectured how fatally the first Plot took, how furiously the Rebels throughout all Parts of the Kingdom proceeded on in their barbarous bloody Executions, and what were the Courses they held to bring about so suddenly the universal Destruction of all the *British* and Protestants there planted. It is most true, that in *Leinster* and *Munster* (and yet one would scarce believe it that considers the horrid Particulars related in the fore-recited Examinations of these two Provinces) they were not generally so bloody, neither did they begin their Work so early as in the Provinces of *Ulster* and *Connaught*. The ill Success of the Enterprize upon the Castle of *Dublin* did cool them for a Time, put them to a Stand, and caus'd them to take up new Councils: But when they had once declared them;

themselves, they did in very few Days strip and despoil all the *English* settled among them, and drove great Numbers of them even stark naked to several Ports on the Sea-side, there to provide themselves The cruelties acted by the Irish upon the British, were before any Provocation given them. Passage for *England*, or otherways most miserably to starve and perish, as many of them did; being inhumanly denied any kind of Relief in those Towns under the Command of the Rebels, And here I must not forget to interpose this certain Truth, That in all the four Provinces the horrid Cruelties used towards the *British*, either in their bloody Massacres, or merciless Despoiling, Stripping and Extirpation of them, were generally acted in most Parts of the Kingdom, before they could gather themselves together, to make any considerable Resistance against their Fury; and before the State had assembled their Forces, or were enabled by the Power of His Majesty's Arms to make any Inroads into the Counties possessed by the Rebels: A Circumstance which totally destroyeth all those vain Pretences and fond Recriminations, which they have since most falsely taken up to palliate this their most abominable Rebellion. And this is not to be denied, Though it be also true, that those *British* whom they suffered to live among them either upon Condition of Change of their Religion, out of Private Interest, or such as they kept in Prison, were not put to the Sword, until the Rebels in the several Encounters they had with His Majesty's Forces suffered Loss of their Men, and so being enrag'd therewith at their Return Home after any Disaster, they fell furiously to take Revenge upon such *British*, whether Men, Women or Children, as they held in most miserable Captivity with them. How far their Madness, Fury and most implacable Malice, did after the Manner of bruit Beasts transport them towards the Destruction of those miserable harmless Souls they detained among them; doth clearly appear by several Particulars expressed in several Examinations. I shall here insert some of them taken upon Trust from Persons of good Quality and Credit, who were long Prisoners among them.

I find in one part of Doctor *Maxwel's* Examination (which I thought not fit wholly to insert, because it is of great length, and many Particulars in it, nothing tending to that Purpose for which it is formerly mention'd) That about *May 1642*, when the *Scotish* Army, under the Command of General Major *Monro*, had marched down from *Carickfergus*, taken in the *Newry*, beaten out the *Irish* of those Parts, with the Slaughter of many of them, Sir *Phelim O Neal* caused Five Thousand *British* whom he detained in *Armagh*, *Tyrone*, and other parts of the North, to be miserably murdered in the space of

three Days : *James Shaw* of *Market-Hill* in the County of *Armagh*, deposeth and saith, That during the Time this Deponent was in restraint, and staid among the Rebels, he observed and well knew, that the greatest part of the Rebels in the County of *Armagh* went to besiege the Castle of *Augher*, where they were repulsed, and divers of the Rebels of the Sept of *O Neal's* slain : In revenge whereof, the grand Rebel, *Sir Phelim O Neal*, gave Direction and Warrant to one *Mulmory Mac Donel*, a most cruel and merciless Rebel, to kill all the *English* and *Scotish* within the Parishes of *Mullebrack*, *Logilly* and *Kilcluney*, whereupon the said Rebel did murder Twenty seven *Scotish* and *English* Protestants within Musket-shot of this Deponent's own House ; and further saith, that in those three Parishes there have been, before that and since, by killing, drowning, and starving, put to death above Fifteen hundred Protestants within the said three Parishes.

William Fitz-Gerald, a Clerk, of *Irish* Birth, dwelling near *Armagh*, and there residing when this Rebellion broke out, deposeth and saith, That all Places of the North where *Sir Phelim O Neal* under the Name of General of the Catholick Army commanded, were filled with Murders of the Protestants : And that when at *Augher*, *Lisnagarvey*, or any other Places the Rebels received loss of their Men, those that escaped, exercised their Cruelty upon the Protestants every where at their return : And that about the first of *May* 1642. when *Sir Phelim O Neal* had notice of the taking of the *Newry* by his Majesty's Forces, he retired that Night in all haste to the Town of *Armagh*, and the next Day as well the Town of *Armagh* as the Cathedral Church there, and all the Villages and Houses in the Country round about, together with all Provisions, were fired by the Rebels ; and many Men, Women and Children murdered, as well in the Town as in the Country round about.

There is much more to be said on this Subject, but I shall forbear to rake further into many other foul Circumstances, which would make this Rebellion appear far more odious and detestable. I shall now return to take up the publick Affairs of State, where I left them in the Hands of the Lords Justices and Council, who finding the City to grow daily more and more impestred with Strangers, by reason of the resort of great Numbers of ill affected Persons that daily made repair thereunto ; they issued out several other Proclamations to exhibit the access of all Strangers to the Town, and to require such as remained in the City without Calling or settled Habitation, to depart.

Sir

Sir Henry Tichborn being dispatched with his Regiment of Foot to Tredagh, as is formerly mention'd, the Lords Justices took further order for the present raising of other Foot-Companies; as likewise some Troops of Horse, which might serve for the Defence of the City of Dublin, now in most imminent Danger, by reason of the Approaches made by the Forces of the Rebels. Sir Charles Coot had a Commission for a Regiment, which he quickly made up out of the poor stript English, who had repaired from divers Parts even naked to the Town, and upon the Engagements of the State procured Cloaths for them. The Lord Lambert, to whom a Commission also was granted for the raising of another Regiment, began also to get some Men together. The Earl of Ormond was now arrived in Dublin, and brought up with him his Troop, consisting of a Hundred Curassiers compleatly armed: Sir Thomas Lucas who had long commanded a Troop of Horse in the Low-Countries, and Captain Armstrong sometime after, yet very seasonably, thither: Both of them had Money imprested; Sir Thomas Lucas to compleat his Troop already brought out of England, Captain Armstrong to raise a new Troop; Captain Turner also arrived soon after at Dublin, he was sent out of England by the Lord Lieutenant to raise and command his Troop, which in a very short time he made up about a Hundred Horse, many Persons then living in the Town being desirous to put themselves and their Horses into that Troop: Not long after Colonel Graford came over also, and bringing with him Letters of Recommendations from the Prince Elector then attending his Majesty in Scotland, under whom he had formerly the Command of a Regiment of Dragoons in Germany; the Lords Justices thought fit to give him a Regiment which they were then taking order to raise and arm out of such Townsmen as were fit to bear Arms within the City of Dublin; none were to be admitted into it but Protestants, and out of them they made choice not only of the Soldiers, but of all the Officers belonging to the same. And further for the repressing the Disorders daily appearing within the City, and restraining the ill Affections of the Papist there inhabiting, they made Sir Charles Coot Governour of the City, and gave him an Allowance of Forty Shillings per Diem for the present. Now while these Colonels and Captains are bestirring themselves in getting their Men together under their several Commands, and in training them up to the Use of their Arms, and the Governour of the Town taking strict order for constant Watches within, and Guards without, to restrain the repair of all suspicious and ill-affected Persons: shall in the mean time give an Account of the Adjournment of the

Some Troops of Horse and Regiments of Foot raised by the Lords Justices and Council.

Sir Charles Coot made Governour of the City of Dublin.

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The Adjournment of the Parliament.

Parliament, according to the late Prorogation made by the Lords Justices, which some of the ill-affected Members of both Houses endeavoured to make use of for the raising of further Troubles.

In the Month of *August* before the Rebellion broke out, the Parliament was adjourned to the Seventeenth of *November* next ensuing: Now upon the Discovery of the late Conspiracy for the Surprize of his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, the ordinary place of Meeting of both Houses of Parliament, the Lords finding that the Fire was begun in the North, and fearing a general Revolt of all other Parts of the Kingdom, resolved, as a Matter highly tending to the Safety and Security of the City and Castle, to Prorogue the Parliament, which they did by Proclamation they set out, until the Twenty fourth of *February*. But two or three Days before such of the Lords and Commons then in Town were to meet of Course in their several Houses for declaring the said Prorogation, it was generally noised abroad, that the putting off the Parliament was extremely ill taken by the Popish Members of both Houses. Mr. *Burk* who was one of the Committee lately employed into *England*, came to the Lord *Dillon* of *Kilkenny-West*, and highly complaining of the Injury which (he said) was done thereby to the whole Nation, hindring them from expressing their loyal Affections to his Majesty, and shewing their Desires to quell this dangerous Rebellion, and that they had reason to resent it so far, as to complain to the King thereof, as a Point of high Injustice; his Lordship having acquainted the Board herewith, Mr. *Burk* was presently sent for, and he used the same Language in effect there, though with much Modesty.

The Popish Party much discontented at it.

Hereupon the Lords fell into Debate what was fit to be done, and how far it might be thought Reasonable to them to condescend to their Desires: Some were of Opinion, That it was fit to disannul the Prorogation, and to give them Leave to continue the Parliament according to the first Adjournment made the Beginning of *August*. They urged the very ill Condition of the whole Kingdom, in Regard of the Northern Rebellion; and that those of the Counties of *Wicklow* and *Wexford*, as well as some other Counties in *Connaught*, had already join'd themselves to them; that this Prorogation might peradventure so irritate the *Pale*, and have such an Influence into *Munster* as might raise them into Arms, and so put the whole Kingdom into a general Combustion. Others of the Board voted strongly for the holding of the Prorogation according to the Time prefixed by the Proclamation, grounding their Opinion upon these Reasons; First, That it would highly trench upon the Gravity and Wisdom of the Board,

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Board, to alter a Resolution so solemnly taken up, after a most serious Debate, and publickly made known throughout the whole Kingdom by Proclamation : That it would be of most dangerous Consequence to bring so great a Multitude of People to the City in such dangerous Times, that the Protestants and well-affected Members of both Houses were for the most Part either destroy'd, dispersed, or so shut up, as they could not repair to the present Meeting, and that therefore the *Irish* would be superiour in Number and Voices, and so carry all Things according to their own Humour, that considering the small Forces then in the City, such great Numbers as might take Occasion under Colour of coming to the Parliament, to repair thither, could not be admitted without apparent Danger and Disturbance, and that peradventure they might there find as ill Affections as they brought, and so both joining together they might easily destroy the State, with the poor Remainers of the *English* Nation in these Parts: Whereupon the Lords thought fit to hold to their Prorogation, yet to endeavour so to a Temper and sweeten it, as those who were most averse, might in some Measure rest satisfied therewith. And therefore after a long Debate of all, particular Circumstances, they came at length to this Resolution, That the Earl of *Ormond*, the Master of the Rolls, and Sir *Pierce Crosby*, three Members of the Board, should have a Meeting with Mr. *Darcy*, Mr. *Burk*, and some others of the most active and powerful Members of the House of Commons, and that they should let them know from the Lords, that they have understood of their good Affections and Desires to do somewhat in the House, that might tend towards the Suppression of this present Rebellion, that they approved extream well thereof: And that howsoever they could by no Means remove absolutely the Prorogation, yet that they would descend so far to their Satisfaction, as to limit it to a shorter Time, and that at present they would give them Leave to sit one whole Day, in Case they would immediately fall upon the Work of making a clear Protestation against the Rebels: As also, that they should have Liberty, if they pleased, to make Choice of some Members of their own House to send down to Treat with the Rebels about laying down of Arms: And for their Grievances that their Lordships would with all Readiness receive them, and presently transmit them over to His Majesty for a speedy Redress: All this was accordingly perform'd. The Meeting was in the Gallery at *Cork-House*: Those of the House of Commons seemed at first to be extreamly troubled when they found there was no Possibility of altering the present Prorogation: But upon a further Debate, when they came to understand how ready the

the Lords were to yield to their Satisfaction, and that the Time of the Prorogation should be shortned, they seemed to rest indifferently contented, undertook to make the Protestation in such full and ample Manner as was desired, and that they would fall immediately upon it, and make it the Work of the whole Day.

Upon the seventeenth of *November*, the Lords and Commons meet in Parliament which was held in the usual Place of His Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*: And for the better Security of the Place as well as of the Persons of those that were to meet, there was a Guard of Muskietiers appointed to attend during the Time of their Meeting, but such Care taken that they should carry themselves so free from giving any Offence, as no Manner of Umbrage might be taken at their Attendance there. The Houses were both very thin, there were only in the House of Peers some few *English* Lords, three or four Lords of the *Pale*, and some two or three Bishops. In the House of Commons, they took into their Consideration upon their first Meeting, the framing of the Protestation against the Rebels. But those of the Popish Party spoke so ambiguously, and handled the Matter so tenderly, as they could not be drawn to stile them by the Name of Rebels: So as they sent up unto the Lords a very meager cold Protestation against them, which being in their House taken into Debate, it was strongly contested by the Protestant Lords that they should be stiled Rebels, but that as stiffly opposed by the others. They therefore fell upon a Mein betwixt both which gave a Kind of Accommodation, saying, *They had Rebelliously and Traiterously raised Arms*: And so both Parties being reasonably satisfied, the Protestation was drawn up and returned back to the House of Commons in this Tenour as followeth.

The Protestation and Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled.

W Hereas the happy and peaceable Estate of this Realm hath been of late, and is still interrupted by sundry Persons ill affected to the Peace and Tranquillity thereof, who contrary to their Duty and Loyalty to His Majesty, and against the Laws of God, and the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, have Traiterously and Rebelliously raised Arms, have seized upon some of His Majesty's Forts and Castles, and dispossessed many of His Majesty's faithful Subjects, of their Houses, Lands and Goods, and have slain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhuman Outrages, and Acts of Hostility within this Realm.

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The said Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, being justly moved with a right Sense of the said disloyal rebellious Proceedings and Actions of the Persons aforesaid, do hereby protest and declare that they the said Lords and Commons from their Hearts, do detest and abhor the said abominable Actions, and that they shall and will to their utmost Power maintain the Rights of His Majesty's Crown and Government of this Realm, and Peace and safety thereof, as well against the Persons aforesaid their Abettors, Adherents, as also against all foreign Princes, Potentates, and other Persons, and Attempts whatsoever; and in Case the Persons aforesaid do not repent of their aforesaid Actions, and lay down Arms, and become humble Sutors to His Majesty for Grace and Mercy, in such convenient Time, and in such Manner and Form as by His Majesty, or the chief Governour or Governours, and Council of this Realm shall be set down: The said Lords and Commons do further protest and declare, That they will take up Arms, and will with their Lives and Fortunes suppress them and their Attempts, in such a Way, as by the Authority of the Parliament of this Kingdom, with the Approbation of His most Excellent Majesty, or of His Majesty's chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom shall be thought most effectual.

Copia vera Exam. per Phil. Percival.
Cleric. Parliament.

Both Houses of Parliament sat two Days, and the Time of the Prorogation being shortned unto the 11th of January. The Lords made Choice of the Lord Viscount Costelo to go into England, to carry over their Desires to His Majesty, concerning the Means they thought fit to be used for the quenching this present Rebellion: And besides those Instructions formerly mentioned, he had (as I heard) from the Popish Lords some, more private which were to negotiate the staying such Forces as were intended to be sent out of England for that End.

Both Houses joined together to appoint certain Lords, and some Members of the House of Commons to go down to the Northern Rebels, to understand the Cause of their rising in Arms: And referred them to the Lords Justices for their Instructions, which accordingly they received, together with a Commission under the Great Seal. But the Rebellion having a far deeper Root than was at that Time discovered; this Commission was of little operation, and the intended Treaty soon vanished. The Northern Rebels were then so puffed up with their late Victories over the poor surprized, unresisting English

The Houses
of Parliament
sent to Treat
with the Re-
bels.

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in those Parts, and had so deeply drenched their Hands in the Blood of those innocents, as they thought to carry the whole Kingdom before them, and therefore would yield to no Treaties, but in a most barbarous manner tore the Order of Parliament together with the Letter sent unto them, and returned a most Scornful Answer, fully expressing thereby how far they were from any thought of laying down Arms, or Entertaining any Overtures towards an Accomodation.

Within a few Days after the Adjournment of the Parliament, the Lord *Dillon* of *Castelo*, accompanied with the Lord *Taffe* imbarqued for *England*, but by a most imperuous Storm were driven into *Scotland*, where they landed and went up to *London*. At the Town of *Ware*, their Papers were seized upon by Directions from the Parliament of *England*, and their Persons committed unto safe Custody. Mr. *Thomas Burk* went over much about the same time, and certainly upon the same Errand: When the unhappy Breach began first betwixt the King and the Parliament of *England*, and that his Majesty thought fit to retire to *Tork*, those two Lords found Means to make an Escape, and all three constantly followed the Court, where in those high Distempers that afterwards happened in *England*, they easily found Means to ingratiate themselves at Court, and had the Opportunity to do those good Offices for their Country-men which brought on the Cessation of Arms with them in due time.

Letters written to the Lord Lieutenant.

The Lords Justices and Council by their Letters bearing date about the Twentieth of *November*, gave unto the Lord Lieutenant a more certain and full Account of the State of the Kingdom, than they could any ways do at the first breaking out of the Rebellion, and thereby making known the very ill Condition of their present Affairs, they moved, that the Supplies of Men, Money, Commanders and Arms, mentioned in their former Letters, might be with all speed sent over unto them, and that his Lordship would presently repair hither in his own Person to undertake the Management of the War. About the Tenth of the Month of *November*, their Lordships received an Answer from the Lord Lieutenant to their former Letters of the Twenty fifth of *October*; whereby he gave them to understand, that he had communicated their Letters to the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and that by Order from their Lordships, he had acquainted both Houses of Parliament with them; that he had also sent to His Majesty, still continuing at *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, to represent the Condition of their Affairs, and that he understood His Majesty had received some Advertisements out of the North of *Ireland* of the present Rebellion there: His

Lordship

Lordship also farther let them know, that His Majesty had referred the whole Business of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*, that they had undertaken the Charge and Management of the War, that they had declared they should be speedily and vigorously assisted, and had designed for their present Supplies the Sum of Fifty thousand Pound, and had taken Order for making of all further Provisions necessary for the Service, as may appear by the Order of Parliament made there at that time, and transmitted over by the Lord Lieutenant, together with his said Letters unto the Lords Justices, by whose Command it was re-printed at *Dublin*, November 12, 1641. as here followeth, being intituled,

An Order of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament in *England*, concerning *Ireland*.

THE Lords and Commons in this present Parliament, being advertised of the Dangerous Conspiracy and Rebellion in *Ireland*, by the Treacherous and wicked Instigation of Romish Priests and Jesuites, for the Bloody Massacre and Destruction of all Protestants living there, and other His Majesties Loyal Subjects of English Blood though of the Romish Religion, being ancient Inhabitants within several Counties, and Parts of that Realm, who have always, in former Rebellions, given Testimony of their fidelity to this Crown: And for the utter depriving of His Royal Majesty, and the Crown of *England*, from the Government of that Kingdom, (under pretence of setting up the Popish Religion.) Have thereupon taken into their Serious Consideration, how those Mischievous Attempts might be most speedily, and effectually prevented, wherein the Honour, Safety, and Interest of this Kingdom, are most nearly and fully concerned, Wherefore they do hereby declare, That they do intend to serve His Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes, for the Suppressing of this wicked Rebellion, in such a Way, as shall be thought most effectual, by the Wisdom and Authority of Parliament: And thereupon have ordered and provided for a present Supply of Money, and raising the Number of six Thousand Foot, and two Thousand Horse, to be sent from *England*, being the full Proportion desired by the Lords Justices, and His Majesties Council resident in that Kingdom, with a Resolution to add such further Succours, as the Necessity of those Affairs shall require. They have also resolved of providing Arms, and Munition, not only for those Men, but likewise for His Majesties faithful Subjects in that Kingdom, with Store of Vittuals, and other Necessaries,

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saries, as there shall be Occasion, and that these Provisions may more conveniently be transported thither, they have appointed three several Ports of this Kingdom, that is to say, Bristol, Westchester, and one other in Cumberland, where the Magazines, and Store-Houses shall be kept for the Supply of the several Parts of Ireland. They have likewise, resolved to be humble Mediators to His most Excellent Majesty, for the Encouragement of those English, or Irish, who shall upon their own Charges, raise any Number of Horse, or Foot, for His Service against the Rebels, that they shall be Honourably rewarded with Lands of Inheritance, in Ireland, according to their Merits. And for the better inducing the Rebels to repent of their wicked Attempts, they do hereby commend it to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or in his absence to the Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices there, according to the Power of the Commission granted them in that behalf, to bestow His Majesties Gracious Pardon, to all such as within a convenient time (to be declared by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices, and Council of that Kingdom,) shall return to their due obedience, the greatest part whereof they conceive have been seduced upon false Grounds, by the cunning and subtle Practices of some of the most malignant Rebels, Enemies to this State, and to the Reformed Religion; and likewise to bestow such Rewards, as shall be thought fit, and publish'd by the said Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices and Council, upon all those who shall Arrest the Persons or bring in the Heads of such Traytors, as shall be Personally named in any Proclamation published by the State there. And they do hereby exhort, and require all his Majesty's loving Subjects, both in this, and in that Kingdom, to remember their Duty and Conscience to God, and his Religion, and the great and eminent Danger which will involve this whole Kingdom in General, and themselves in particular, if this abominable Treason be not timely suppress'd; and therefore with all readiness, bounty, and chearfulness to confer their Assistance in their Persons, or Estates, to this so important and necessary a Service for the Common good of all.

Commission granted to the Earl of Ormonde, to be Lieutenant General of the Forces in Ireland.

Jo. Brown Cleric. Parliament.

About the same time the Lord Lieutenant finding that he could not procure so speedy a Dispatch of all things necessary for the Service of Ireland, as would enable him presently to repair thither in his own Person, made the Earl of Ormonde, Lieutenant General of the Forces there, and sent him over a Commission for the same. And the said

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said Earl did within few Days after receive a Letter from His Majesty out of *Scotland*, wherein he was Graciously pleased to let him know it was His Pleasure to confer upon him that Charge. There was then likewise brought over the Sum of 20000*l.* from the Parliament; the Coin which arrived here was all in *Spanish* Pieces of eight, which went for 4 *d.* in a Piece here, more then in *England*, and this gain, the Parliament was content the Merchants that undertook the Transportations should make at that time in regard of the Charge and Venture they undertook to stand to: It arrived most seasonable even when all that little Money they had was quite spent in raising and paying the New Compaines, and that they were wholly destitute of all means to draw in any Contributions towards the relieving of their present necessities.

There continued Daily to repair unto the City of *Dublin*, a great Number of Poor distressed *English*, who had been most barbarously stripped, robbed, and despoiled of all their Goods and Substance, by the Rebels. Now that it might appear what their losses were, what Cruelties were acted, what Murders committed, and who were the chief Actors in them throughout the several Provinces: The Lords Justices and Council thought fit to issue out a Commission under the Great Seal, directed to certain of the Clergy to take upon Oath the several Examinations of all such Persons, that having suffered by this present Rebellion would think fit to repair unto them as will appear by the Commission it self, a Copy whereof I have thought fit to insert.

Commissions
Issued out for
the Examination
upon
Oath of the
losses of the
British, and
the cruelties
exercised by
the Irish upon
them.

CCharles by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To Our well beloved Henry Jones, Dean of Kilmore; Roger Puttock,, William Huthock, Randal Adam, John Sterne, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, and John Watson, Clerks, Greeting; Whereas divers wicked and disloyal People, have lately risen in Arms in several Parts of this Kingdom and have robbed and spoiled many of Our good Subjects British and Protestants, who have been seperated from their several Habitations, and scattered in most lamentable manner: And for as much as it is needful to take due Examination concerning the same; Know ye that we reposing special trust and confidence in your care, Diligence, and provident Circumspection, have nominated and appointed you to be our Commissioners, and do hereby give unto you or any two or more of you, full Power and Authority, from time to time to call before you, and Examine upon Oath on the Holy Evangelists, (which hereby We Authorize you or any

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two or more of you to Administer) as well all such Persons as have been robbed and despoiled, as all the Witnesses that can give Testimony therein, what Robberies and Spoils have been committed on them since the 23d of October last, or shall hereafter be committed on them, or any of them: What the Particulars were or are, whereof they were or shall be so robbed, or spoiled to what value, by whom, what their Names are, or where they now, or last dwelt, that committed those Robberies, on what Day or Night the said Robberies or Spoils committed, or to be committed, were done: What Traiterous or Disloyal Words, Speeches, or Actions, were then or at any other time uttered or committed by those Robbers or any of them, and how often, and all other Circumstance concerning the said Particulars and every of them: And you Our said Commissioners are to reduce to writing all the Examinations which you or any two or more of you shall take as aforesaid: And the same to return to our Justices and Council of this Our Realm of Ireland, under the Hands and Seals of any two or more of you as aforesaid. Witness Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Councillors: Sir William Parsons Knight and Baronet, and Sir John Borlace Knight, Our Justices of Our said Realm of Ireland: Dublin, 23d of December in the Seventeenth Year of Our Reign.

Carleton.

The Commissioners above nominated, did very Seriously Address themselves to this Work, employing their Pains therein with great Diligence and Faithfulness; and have so well performed the Charge imposed upon them as that by several Examinations, many principal Gentlemen of good Estates were discovered to be the chief Actors in the Depradations of the British, and to have committed many most horrid Murders and other Notorious Cruelties, which through their industry will now remain upon Record, but had otherways been concealed from Posterity, and wrapt up in Oblivion. The like Commissions were in a short time after sent into Munster, and Ulster: In the Province of Munster, the Commissioners took great care in the Execution of it, many Examinations of high Concernment were taken by virtue thereof, though they remain as yet concealed and not returned up according as is required by the said Commissions.

Towards the latter End of November, the Lords Justices and Council considering the miserable Desolations brought upon the whole Kingdom, and the further Calamities threatned by War and Famine, did by a Proclamation set forth in Print, give strict Charge and Command: That upon every Friday, a Publick and Religious Fast

Fast should be devoutly and piously observed, in and through the whole City and Subrubs of *Dublin*, by all his Majesties People therein, and that Divine Services and Sermons be celebrated and heard upon the said Day Weekly, in every Cathedral, and other Church and Chapel in the said City and Subrubs thereof: And this to be performed as is expressed in the said Proclamation, to the End that the Wrath and Indignation of Almighty God, may be averted from this Kingdom, his divine aid and assistance implored, and that some Relief in these calamitous Times, may the better be afforded, to such miserable Persons as these Traytors, by their Rapine and Cruelty, have deprived of their Fortunes, and sent naked and almost famished up to this City.

A weekly Fast appointed by the Lords Justices and Council.

The Lords Justices and Council being advertised of the near approach of the Rebels to *Tredagh*, prepared to send down Supplies both of Men and Munition for the reinforcement of that Garrison: There were already designed Six hundred Foot and a Troop of Horse for that Service, and they were almost in a readiness to march when an Express from Sir *Henry Tichburne* came up to the Earl of *Ormond*, to let him know the Rebels had that Day, being the One and twentieth of *November*, appeared within sight of the Town. He conceived they would presently have set down before it, but they advanced no further that Day, only while their Forces made a Stand there, they sent down a Party of Thirteen hundred Foot to *Millifand*, the Lord *Moor's* House, which their Design was suddenly to surprize; but contrary to their Expectation, they found the Twenty four Musketers and fifteen Horsemen, who very stoutly defended the House, as long as their Powder lasted. The Horsemen when they saw themselves beset so as they could be no further serviceable to the Place, opened the Gate, issued out, and made their Passage through the midst of the Rebels, and so, notwithstanding the Opposition they made, escaped safe to *Tredagh*: The Foot having refused to accept of the Quarter at the first offered, resolved to make good the Place to the last Man; they endured several Assaults, slew a Hundred and forty of the Rebels before their Powder failed them; and at last they gave up the Place upon promise of Quarter, which was not kept, for some of them were killed in cold Blood, all were stripped, and two old decrepit Men slain, the House ransacked, and all the Goods carried away.

The approach of the Rebels to *Tredagh*.

Upon the receipt of Sir *Henry Tichburne's* Letter, the Lords presently took order for the marching away of the Six hundred Men, together with a Troop of Horse, towards *Tredagh*: They left not the Town

Supplies both of Horse and Foot sent for the relief of *Tredagh*.

Town till the Twenty seventh of *November*; and such was the Negligence of the Captains, and Disorders of the Soldiers, as notwithstanding they had been three Days in readiness to march, they went no further that Night than *Swords*, a Village six Miles distant from *Dublin*: The Command of the Foot was committed to Serjeant Major *Roper*, and of the Horse to Sir *Patrick Weems*, who was appointed, with Fifty of the Earl of *Ormond's* Troop, to march with those six Companies to *Tredagh*. The very Day of their departure from *Dublin*, there was an Advertisement brought unto the Lords, that some Forces of the Rebels were drawn on this side the River of the *Boin*, and attended with Design to intercept their Passage: Whereupon the Earl of *Ormond* by direction from the Lords dispatched an Express to give them now upon their March notice thereof, and after to pass on to Sir *Henry Tichburne* to let him know as much; and that the Recruits designed for the Re-inforcement of his Garrison being now upon their March, it highly imported him to take special care for the securing their Passage. And next Day his Lordship received an Answer from him of that Letter, with assurance, that he would not fail to march out with competent Forces to meet them upon the Way, which he did that very Day accordingly perform, but they marching no further than *Balrudry*, and so lying that Night eight Miles short of *Tredagh*, he missed of them, and so went not out (by what Accident, or upon what Reason I know not) the Day following, till the News of the Defeat met him at the very Gate of the Town, where he stood with his Men in a readiness to march towards them: The Men being altogether untrained and unaccustomed to travel, and failing of Provision by the Way, which for their Money they could not by any means procure from the Country People as they marched along, were very much discontented, and being somewhat tired with their Journey, went on next Day, but in much disorder, so careless, and so little apprehensive of any Danger, as some had Arms but no Munition about them; others for their own Ease committed the Carriage of both to the Carts. As they passed through *Gormanston*, the Major went in to give a Visit to the Lord of *Gormanston*; who told him that there were some Numbers of Men lay in the Way with an Intent to interrupt their Passage. And this his Lordship knew very well, for the very Night before, (as Mr. *Creighton* affirms in his Examination) one of his Grooms went to *Slaine* where the Rebels were then lodged, and called them out of their Beds, to be in a readiness to come and encounter the *English* Forces now upon their March. The Major had likewise other Advertisements

ments to the same purpose, which he neglected, not so much as acquainting his Captain therewith, as some of them afterwards affirmed; he only caused three Scouts out of the Troop to be sent abroad to make discovery whether the Passage were clear; two of them returned back a little before he came to the Bridge of *Julian's Town*, assuring him all was clear; the other went into a House within a quarter of a Mile of the Place where the Rebels lay, and while he attended there for his Breakfast, a Boy belonging to the House took his Horse, and riding to the Rebels, gave them notice of the Approach of our Forces: The Horse passed the Bridge, and the Foot following, turned up into a Field on the left Hand of the Lane, where by reason of a great Mist that suddenly fell, they discovered not the Rebels till they were almost within Musket-shot of them. The Major drew his Men presently into Battalia, but the Horse (as some of the Foot that escaped affirm) wheeled about without charging any part of the Rebels Forces, who now furiously approached with a great Shout; and a Lieutenant giving out the unhappy Word of Counter-march, all the Men possessed as it were with a pannick Fear, began somewhat confusedly to march back, but were so much amazed with a second Shout given by the Rebels, (who seeing them in disorder followed close on) as notwithstanding they had gotten into a Ground of great advantage, they could not be perswaded to stand a Charge, but betook themselves to their Heels, and so the Rebels fell sharply on, as their manner is upon the Execution.

The Defeat of the Forces sent for the relief of *Tredagh*.

Sir *Patrick Weames*, without the loss of one Horse, passed on safely unto *Tredagh*: The Major, with two of the Captains more, and about a Hundred of their Men, made an Escape thither likewise: The other three Captains, with all the rest of the Soldiers that were *English*, were cut off, they spared very few or none that fell into their Hands but such as were *Irish*, whose Lives they preserved: The Arms of the whole Six hundred they possessed themselves of, as likewise of all their Munition and Carriages: And so highly were the Rebels encouraged with this Defeat given to His Majesty's Forces, as the whole *Pale* began presently to waver; they thought the whole Kingdom their own, and that the *English* would in all Parts fall before them, as those poor ill conducted Sheep had unhappily done. And this is a true Relation (as near as I could collect it from the Mouths of those that were present) of that famous Victory so much boasted of by the *Irish*, whereunto the Inexperience of the *English* Commanders, and the Disorders of the common Soldiers, who were then but newly taken up, and had never seen any Service, contributed far

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more than any Skill or Courage shewed by the Rebels, which they had only opportunity at that time to express by a Shout. Besides, they were treble their Number, and had for their Leaders *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and *Philip O'Rely*, the two last Persons who had been train'd in the Wars abroad under the *Spanish* Discipline, and were of greatest Experience among them: They brought down a great Part of those Forces out of the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*, and as soon as they came within the River of *Boyne*, great Numbers of the ordinary Churlcs of the *Pale* adjoined themselves unto their Men, and so made up a Body sufficient to perform that Service.

Sir Charles
Coot's Expedition into the
County of
Wicklow.

The News of this unhapy Defeat was brought the very same Day being *Monday*, the Twenty ninth of *November* at evening, to the Lords Justices as they sat in Council: It troubled them very much, and as it was a Matter of great Rejoicing among the Popish Inhabitants of the City, so it bred a general Sorrow and Conternation among the *English* and Protestants. It hapned in a very ill Season, the late made Colonels were but then in raising of their Men; and such Companies as were compleated, were by the Lords the same Day of the marching of the 600 Men to *Tredagh*, commanded out under Sir *Charles Coot* into the County of *Wicklow*, for the representing the Insolences of the *Birnes* and the *Tooles* towards the poor *English*, whom they began to fall upon most furiously, stripping, murdering, and driving them all out of that Territory as soon as they had taken in the King's Fort, in that County called *Carews Fort*, and possessed themselves of the chief Places of Strength belonging to the *English* Gentlemen there: He march'd to the Town of *Wicklow*, where he caused some few Men and one Woman to be executed, they being found upon Examination guilty of the late Spoils committed most barbarously upon the *English* there, and the very Cloaths of an *English* Woman that was stripped, being found upon the Back of that *Irish* Woman that was there hanged. In his Return *Luke Toole* with near a Thousand *Irish* under his Command encountred him, but he quickly made them flie, and take to the next Bogg, with the Loss of some few of their Men: And so he returned with all possible speed to *Dublin*, the Lords having sent him Notice of the late Defeat given to the Forces sent to *Tredagh*: As soon as he arrived, he apply'd himself very carefully to the Securing of the Town, which now began to be more desperately threatned than ever, by the near Approaches of the Rebels: And so great were the Disorders then in the City, so inconsiderable the Forces raised, the *English* Inhabitants so strangely dismayed, the Papists so highly raised in Spirit and Cou-

rage,

rage, as had the Commanders of the Rebels drawn those Forces together as they had in Readiness on both Sides the River of *Boyne* for the Siege of *Tredagh*, and so marching up to *Dublin*, had taken the Advantage of the present Distractions, and forward Affections which they would have undoubtedly found there to assist them; they had in all human Probability made themselves Master of the City, and might so straitly have begirt the Castle, as would within a very short Time have endangered the Surrender of it: But it pleased God to infatuate their Counsels. The strong Opinion they had, that they should presently carry *Tredagh*, and so possess themselves of all the Arms and Munition they had in that Town, caused them to fix their Resolutions there, and to set up their Rest upon the obtaining that Place. In this as in many wonderful Acts of Divine Providence, which I then observed with great Admiration; in pleased GOD to appear even miraculously in the Preservation of the City and Castle of *Dublin* with the poor Remainers of *English* and Protestants, who had there taken Sanctuary.

And now the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, thought it high Time to discover themselves and their Affections to the Cause: They certainly had not only long entertained a Defection in their Thought, but were, as the several forementioned Examinations testify, the first Contrivers and Bringers in of the Northern Rebels into this execrable Plot; they had now likewise drawn them into the *Pale*, and therefore they could not hope now much longer to walk under a Mask, and entertain the State with further Professions of their Loyalty: They had gotten a competent Proportion of Arms and Munition out of His Majesty's Store, into their own Possession: They saw now the Northern Rebels advanced within the River of *Boyne*, with very considerable Forces to strengthen their Party, and by the late Encounter and successful Victory they had therein, they pleased their Fancies with confident Conceits of certain Prevailing, if they would now declare themselves by a publick Conjunction in the common Cause, and raising such Numbers of Men and quantities of Provision, as the plentiful Circuit of the *Pale* did afford, would prosecute the War so happily begun, and so successfully manag'd hitherto.

These and several other Considerations working very powerfully among the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, they did within very few Days after the late Defeat, solemnly proceed on to the actual Consumation of their long meditated Revolt: For the Manner, Place, Time, and all other Circumstances, I shall refer the Reader to this ensuing Relation given in upon Oath, *March 1641.* before

The defecti-
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chief Gentle-
men within
the English
Pale.

The manner
of the Con-
junction of
the Lords and
chief Gentle-
men of the
English Pale
with the Nor-
thern Rebels,
expressed in
the Examina-
tion of *Ed-
ward Dow-
dal, Esq;*

Sir Robert Meredith Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Examination of *Edward Dowdall* Esquire, a Gentleman of the *Pale*, one very well esteemed among them, one that was present at all their Meetings, and deeply engaged in all their Counsels and Actions.

He deposeth that some four or five Days after the Defeat of the *English* Soldiers at the Bridge of *Gellianstown*, there issued a Warrant from the Lord of *Gormanstown* to the Sheriff of the County for a General meeting of all the County at *Dulick*: But the Place of meeting was afterwards changed to the Hill of *Crofty*, where all the Lords and Gentry of the Country met, viz. The Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanstown*, the Lord of *Slaine*, the Lord of *Lowth*, the Lord of *Dunsany*, the Lord of *Trimblestone*, the Lord *Netterville*: And of the Gentry, Sir *Patrick Barnwall*, Sir *Christopher Bel- low*, *Patrick Barnwell* of *Kilbrew*, *Nicholas Darcy* of *Plattin*, *James Bath* of *Achan*, *Garret Ailmer* the Lawyer, *Cusack* of *Gormanstown*, *William Malone* of *Lesmullin*, *Sedgrave* of *Kileglan*, *Lanch* of the *Knos*, *Lynam* of *Alamstown*, *Laurance Doudal* of *Athlumney*, *Nicholas Dowdall* of *Brownstown*, this Examinate Brother, and him this Examine with a Multitude of others, to the Number of a Thousand Persons at the least, whose Names he this Examine cannot for the present call to mind. And after about two or three Hours spent upon the said Hill of *Crofty* by the Lords and Gentry aforesaid: There came towards them, Colonel *Mahowne*, *Philip O Rely*, *Hugh Boy-Rely*, *Roger Moor*, *Hugh Brine*, and Captain *Fox*, attended on with a Guard of Musketers: and this Examinant saith, That as soon as the Parties drew near unto the Hill, the Lords and Gentry of the *Pale*; rode towards them, and the Lord of *Gormanstown*, being one of the first, spake unto them, and demanded of them, Why, and for what Reason, they came Armed into the *Pale*: Unto which *Roger Moor* made present Answer, That the Ground of their coming thither, and taking up Arms, was for the Freedom and Liberty of their Consciences, the Maintenance of his Majesties Prerogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and the making the Subjects in this Kingdom as free as those in *England* were, whereupon the said Lord of *Gormanstown*, desired to understand from them truly and faithfully, whether those were not pretences; and not the true Grounds indeed of their so doing, and likewise whether they had not some other private Ends of their own; which being by all denied, upon Profession of their Sincerity, his Lordship the Lord of *Gormanstown*, then told them: Seeing these be your true Ends, we will likewise joyn with you therein; unto which course all agreed. And hereupon it was publickly and

These were
some of the
chief Leaders
among the
Northern
Rebels.

gen

generally declared. that whosoever should deny to joyn with them, or refuse to assist them therein, they would account him as an Enemy, and to the utmost of their Power labour his Destruction. And this Examinant saith, That after the Agreement so made as aforesaid, there issued another Warrant to the Sheriff of the County of *Meath*, to summon all the Lords and Gentry of the County of *Meath*, to be at the Hill of *Turagh* about a Week after; and accordingly there met at the same Place, the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord of *Gormanstown*, and the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen aforesaid, together with Sir *Thomas Nugent*, and *Nicholas Plunket*, the Lawyer, *Birford* the Lawyer, and a Multitude of others; and the Work of that Day, was first to make Answer to a Summons made by the State for the Calling of the Lords unto *Dublin*, which Answer was brought ready drawn by the Lord of *Gormanstown*, and presented by his Lordship, and being perused by the said Council at Law, was signed by the Lords.

In this manner was this great Transaction most solemnly consummated betwixt *Leinster* and *Ulster*, *Valence* and *Brabant*, as Sir *Phelem O Neale* styles them in his Characterestical Letter before mentioned, sent to *Owen Roe O Neale* in *Flanders*, were now publickly united together in that great Assembly. The Lord Viscount *Gormanstown* on the one side, and *Roger Moore* on the other, had both been long tampering about the drawing of this most important Work to the Form it now received, they had at length brought it unto Perfection, they two had the Glory of it, and appeared the great publick Instruments of this powerful Union.

* The Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, having thus far declared themselves, became so high and presuming, as they little valued what was done or commanded by the State at *Dublin*: they now wholly apply'd their Endeavours to make such Preparatives towards the War, as might strengthen their Party, which as it now stood in conjuncture with the Northern Rebels, they beheld as Invincible, and their Power not to be resisted by the Forces drawn together by the Lords Justices and Council at *Dublin*: Several Gentlemen who in the several Counties of the *Pale* were made Captains, and had received Arms from the State for their Companies, departed from their Obedience, and addressed themselves and their Companies wholly to the Service of the Rebels. *Nicholas White* Esq; Son and Heir to Sir *Nicholas White* of *Le-ssip*, was the first that gave the Example, about the Second of *December*; but he carried the Matter so handsomely, as his Company ran away to the Rebels, as he pretended, without his Consent, or even his

The endeavours of those of the *Pale* to strengthen their Party against the Power of the State.

The reasons
why the State
summon'd the
Grand Coun-
cil of all the
Lords of the
Pale and o-
thers then in
the City of
Dublin.

his Knowledge, any longer time before their Departure, than to give him Opportunity to come and acquaint the State therewith, and his own Disability to hinder the same: But before it was possible to use any Means of Prevention, the Men were all gone with their Arms and Munition to the Rebels: Many other Captains desired no such fine Cover for their Intentions, but delivered themselves and their Arms up to be disposed as they should direct, without any further Scruple or Complement to the State: Whereupon the Lords finding how notoriously they were abused by the very great Confidence reposed in such Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as being made Captains, had received Arms from them, and perceiving what Course they began now to steer, and how they were resolved to imploy their own Arms against them, they took such Order, and with such Celerity and Diligence made stay of several of those Arms which were delivered out for the Use of the *Pale*, as of the Seventeen hundred Arms distributed among the several Counties, thereof they recovered again into their Hands Nine hundred and fifty.

And now by reason the Northern Rebels had settled their Camp within the River of *Boyne*, and so lay betwixt *Tredagh* and the City of *Dublin*, all Entercourse in the *Pale* was interrupted, the Passages stopt up, and the Lords Justices and Council understood very little or nothing of any Proceedings held there. They therefore finding their Dangers daily to encrease through the near Approach of the Rebels unto the City of *Dublin*, the continual Affronts and new Scorns the State daily received from them, their own want of Strength to repress their bold Attempts, or to preserve the poor *English* round about them out of their bloody Hands, resolved now in these their high Extremities, to try the Effects of those large Protestations and great Professions of Loyalty the Lords of the *Pale* had lately made unto them, and to give them a fair Opportunity of rendring a most acceptable Service to His Majesty and to the State here. For this End therefore they determin'd to call a grand Council of all the Lords that resided within any convenient distance of the City of *Dublin*, clearly and freely to represent unto them the ill Condition of their Affairs, and how highly it imported them in respect of their own particular Safety, as well as for the Preservation of the whole Kingdom, and not only to contribute their best Advice and Counsel, but even all the Forces they could any ways raise towards the beating of the Northern Rebels out of the *Pale*, Several Letters of Summons were accordingly writ and sent away to the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanstown* and the rest of the Lords of the *Pale*; the Tenour of them here ensueth.

After

After our hearty Commendations to your Lordships, for as much as we have present Occasion to confer with you, concerning the present Estate of the Kingdom, and the Safety thereof in these times of Danger: We pray and require your Lordship to be with us here on the Eighth Day of this Month, at which time others of the Peers are also to be here: And this being to no other End, we bid your Lordship very heartily farewell. From His Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the Third of December, 1641.

A Copy of the Letter written by the Lords Justices and Council to the Lords of the Pale.

Your very loving Friends,

To our very good Lord

George Earl of
Kildare.

William Parson, John Borlace,
Ormonde Ossory, Ant. Midensis,
R. Dillon, Ad. Loftus, G. Shirley,
J. Temple, Rob. Meredith.

The like Letters, *Eodem Die*, to these several Persons following.

Earl of Ormond.	Vif. Gormanston.	Lord Dunsany.
	Vif. Neterville.	Lord Slaine.
Earl of Antrim.	Vif. Fitzwilliam.	Lord of Hoath.
		Lord of Lowth.
Earl of Fingale.	Lord Trimblestone.	Lord Lambert.

These Letters were presently sent away: But the Lords of the Pale being otherways engaged, and having before or much about the time they came unto their Hands (though the Lords knew very little, and that very uncertainly of it) made that publick Combination with the Ulster Rebels before mentioned, durst no more adventure their Persons within the City of Dublin: But after their meeting at the Hill of Crofty, appointed another meeting at the Hill of Tarah, and from thence they sent an Answer unto the Lords, which as Mr. Dowdall testifies, was brought thither by the Lord of Gormanstown ready drawn up, and there only signed and so sent away. The Copy of the Letter here followeth.

May it please your Lordships.

WE have received your Letters of the third of this Instant, intimating that you had present Occasions to confer with us, concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the Safety thereof in these times of Danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the Eighth Day of this.

The Answer of the Lords of the Pale to the Lords Justices.

this Instant: We give your Lordships to understand, that we have heretofore presented our selves before your Lordships, and freely offered our Advice and Furtherance towards the Particulars aforesaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us cause to conceive that our Loyalty was suspected by you. We give your Lordships further to understand, that we have received certain Advertisment, that Sir Charles Coot Knight, at the Council-Board, hath uttered some Speeches tending to a Purpose and Resolution, to Execute upon those of our Religion a General Massacre, by which we are all deterred to wait on your Lordships, not having any Security for our Safety from these threatned evils, or the Safety of our Lives; but do rather think it fit to stand upon our best Guard until we here from your Lordships how we shall be secured from these Perils. Nevertheless, we all protest that we are and will continue both faithful advisers, and resolute furtherers of His Majesty's Service concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the Safety thereof to our best Abilities, and so with the said tender of our humble Service we remain.

To the Right Honourable our
very good Lords, the Lords Ju-
stices and Council of Ireland.
Dublin, Dec. 7. Received 11. 1641.

Your Lordships humble Servants.
Fingale, Gormanstown, Slaine,
Dunsany, Netterville, Oliver,
Lowth, Trimblestown.

A Proclamation
issued out
by the Lords
Justices and
Council for
the satisfacti-
on of the
Lords of the
Pale.

In Answer to this Letter, the Lords Justices and Council, out of their unfeigned desires to give unto those Lords all due Satisfaction, and to remove those jealousies and great misunderstanding now grown up between them, thought fit by way of Proclamation to publish and declare to them and all others of His Majesties good Subjects of the Romish Religion, That they never heard Sir Charles Coot, or any other utter at the Board or elsewhere, any Speeches tending to a Purpose or Resolution to Execute upon those of their Profession, or upon any other a General Massacre or any Massacre at all, and that they never intended so to dishonour His Majesty and this State, or Wound their own Consciences as to entertain the least thought of acting so odious, impious, and detestable a Thing upon any Persons whatsoever; and that if any Proof can be made of any such Words spoken by any Person whatsoever, that he shall be severely punished. And therefore that they did pray and require the said Noblemen to attend them at the Board, on the Seventeenth Day of December, that they might confer with them: And for the Security of their repair unto them, they did thereby give to all and every of those Noblemen,

the

the Word and Assurance of the State, that they might then securely and safely come unto them without Danger of any trouble or stay whatsoever, from them who neither had nor have any Intention to wrong or hurt them.

But now it began to appear unto the Lords Justices and Council, how far they were engaged with the Northren Rebels. By the Examinations taken of some *English*, who made their Escape out of those Parts, the News of their solemn Contract and Association before mentioned was brought up to *Dublin*: And they then well enough discerned the Main Obstruction in their coming, the Cause of their Tergiversations, and what good Reason they had to find out excuses to palliate their Disloyalty. They then expected no other Fruits of their Proclamation than what it produced: Neither indeed had it any other Effect and Operation among them, than that they did with great boldness and confidence by the Way of Answer thereunto, write back a Letter to the Lords Justices wherein they pretend themselves so justly affrighted with Sir *Charles Coot*'s severity and deportment, as that they dare not Adventure themselves within the Confines of his Government: They heavily impose upon him the inhumane Acts perpetrated as they term them in the County of *Wicklow*, the Massacre of *Santry* and the Burning of Mr. *Kings* House and his whole Substance at *Clantarfe*, and with a little kind of cunning, they seem to pretend a Breach of the Publick Faith, but would transfer the Blame from the Lords Justices to Sir *Charles Coot*, and thereupon desire no sinister Construction may be made of their Stay and that they may have some Commissioners appointed to confer with them, and so conclude with some Professions of their Loyalty and Readiness to give their Advices for the Advancement of His Majesty's Service, and the Common Peace of the Kingdom.

This was the Answer, such as might justly be expected to come from Persons so deeply involved in the Guilt of so high a Rebellion. It is no wonder that they were thus put to their Shifts, and enforced to take up such fond excuses, and imaginary Pretences for their Disloyalty: For they could not in their own Consciences, but be most Sensible of the very great Indulgence used by the Lords towards them: They had not failed in several Particulars to manifest the great confidence they had in their good Affections: They had refrained from giving them any manner of Provocation or Jealousie. They had forbore the doing some Acts of Hostility for a time upon some Rebels among them, because they would not give them any the least cause of complaint. And however, it appeared by the Examination of *Mac-Mahon* and

Several pretences of the Lords of the Pale to colour their refusal to repair to the Lords Justices and Council.

The great Indulgence used by the Lords Justices and Council, towards the Lords of the Pale.

several others, that they were privy to the first Plot, yet the Lords proceeded with so much Caution and Tenderneſs towards them, hoping that now the Conſpirators had failed in the Main part of their Deſign which was the Surprizal of the Caſtle of *Dublin*, that they might yet reclaim them thereby, and draw them into a juſt concurrence with them, for the Perſervation of the Kingdom out of the Hands of thoſe Bloody Northern Rebels, who in the Beginning were the only appearers in the Caſe: But all was to no purpoſe, they were too deeply engaged to recede; therefore they ran now violently on, and drew along all the chief Gentlemen likewiſe of the *Pale* with them.

Luke Netterville and others of the chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, gather Forces and Quarter within Six Miles of the City of *Dublin*. The Gentlemen of the *Pale* required by the Lords Juſtices and Council to repair to *Dublin*.

And now it ſhall be declared, how the chief Gentlemen of the *Pale* began and proceeded on to Act their Parts: About the Beginning of *December*, preſently after the late Deſeat given to the *Engliſh* Soldiers in their March to *Tredagh*, *Luke Netterville* ſecond Son to the Lord Viſcount *Netterville*, cauſed a Proclamation to be made in the Market-place of *Lusk*, requiring all the chief Gentlemen and other Inhabitants thereabout not to fail upon Pain of Death, preſently to repair unto *Swords*, a Town within ſix Miles of the City of *Dublin*. And within few Days after, did meet there the ſaid *Luke Netterville*, *George Blackney* Eſq; *George King*, *John Talbot*, *Rich. Golding*, *Tho. Ruſſel*, *Chriſtopher Ruſſel*, *Patrick Cadel*, *Will. Travers*, *Rich. Barnwell*, *Laurence Bealing*, *Holywood* of *Artaine*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen who began to gather great Numbers of Men about them, and putting ſuch Arms into their Hands as they had in a readineſs, at the preſent made their Proviſions to entertain a ſettled Camp within that place. The Lords underſtanding of this unlawful tumultuous Aſſembly, and deeply apprehending the Miſchievous conſequences that might thereupon enſue ſent this Warrant following in a fair manner requiring thereby their preſent repair unto them.

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

William Parsons. John Burlace.

Whereas we have received information, that *Luke Netterville* Eſq; *Blackney* of *Rickennore* Eſq; and *George King* of *Clartarfe* Gentleman; and other Gentlemen of the County of *Dublin*, with great Numbers of Men are aſſembled together in a Body at *Swords* and thereabouts, within ſix Miles of this City, for what intent we know

not, but apparently to the terror of His Majesty's good Subjects, and although, considering the Unseasonableness of this time chosen for such an Act without our privity (whatsoever their pretence is,) a Construction might be made thereof to their disadvantage; yet we being willing to make an indulgent Interpretation of their Actions in regard of the good Opinion we have of the Loyalty of those Gentlemen who (it seems) are Principals amongst them in that Assembly, and conceiving there may be some mistaking in that enterprize, we have chosen rather hereby to charge the said Luke Netterville, Blackney, King, and all the Persons there assembled with them, upon their duties of Allegiance to His Majesty, immediately upon sight hereof to separate and not to unite any more in that manner without Direction from us: And that the said Netterville, Blackney, King, and six others of the principal Persons of those who are so assembled at Swords or thereabouts as aforesaid, do appear before us to morrow Morning at Ten of the Clock, to shew the Cause of their Assembling in that manner, whereof they may not fail at their extream perils. Given at His Majesty's Castle of Dublin, December 9th, 1641.

Ormonde, Ossory, Rob. Dillon, Cha.
Lambert, Jo. Temple, Charles Coot.

But they were so far from rendering Obedience to the Commands they received from the Board, as they kept the Messenger in restraint a Day and a Night, threatening to hang him, and after returned a scornful peremptory Answer, signifying unto their Lordships, *That they were constrained to meet there together for the Safety of their Lives, that they were put in so great a Terror by the rising out of some Horse Troops and Foot Companies at Dublin, who killed Four Catholicks for no other Reason, than that they bore the Name of that Religion, as they durst not, as they pretended, stay in their Houses, and therefore resolved to continue together, till they were assured by their Lordships of the Safety of their Lives before they run the Hazard thereof, by manifesting their Obedience due unto their Lordships.* These were the very Words and Expressions used by those Gentlemen in their Answer: And accordingly they still continued together, encreasing their number of Men, and threatening to come down and encamp themselves at Clantarse, a little Village standing upon the very Harbour of Dublin; where some of their Followers had already, at a low Water, seized upon a Bark lying there, and carried away all the Commodities they found in her; a great part whereof they had put into the then Dwelling-house of the said King, to whom that Village did belong. This

The Answer
made by the
Pale to the
Lords War-
rant.

was an Act of so high a Strain, and so eminently tending to the present Ruin of the City, as it required a sudden Remedy: Delays were dangerous in a Matter of such perilous Consequence, and the Lords Justices and Council plainly perceived, that if the Rebels were suffered to come down and lodge there, that they might, without much Difficulty, make themselves Masters of those few Barks then in the Harbour (the State having at that time no Ships of Force to guard them) and so put themselves in a fair Way, if they could bring the *Wexford* Ships about to joyn with them, to block up the Harbour, and stop the coming in to their Relief, all such Succours as should be designed in *England* to land at that Port. Whereupon the Lords finding that the said *King* continued still with *Luke Netterville*, and those other Gentlemen at *Swords*, that they carried themselves with such high Contumacy, as that disdaining to render any Obedience to their Warrant, they neither made their Departure from that Place, disbanded their Men, nor so much as pretended to repair to them according to their Commands at the Time prefixed therein: It was thought high time to take some other Course with them: And therefore about Four Days after, the Day first set down by the Lords for their appearing before them, and the very next Day after, another Proclamation published for their immediate Separation, the Lords Justices and Council made this ensuing Order, directed to the Earl of *Ormonde*, Lieutenant General of His Majesty's Forces in *Ireland*.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

William Parsons. Jo. Burlace.

A Warrant from the Lords Justices and Council for the Suppressing of the Rebels of the Pale.

FOrasmuch as divers of the Inhabitants of *Clantarfe*, *Raheny* and *Killbarrock*, have declared themselves Rebels, and having robbed and spoiled some of His Majesty's good Subjects, are now assembled thereabouts in Arms in great Numbers, Mustering and Training of their *Rebellious Multitudes*, to the Terror and Danger of His Majesty's good Subjects, as well at Land as at Sea, which their Boldness is acted in such a manner, as to put Scorns and Affronts upon the State and Government, they acting such Depredations even before our Faces, and in our own View, as it were in despite of us: It is therefore ordered, That our very good Lord the Earl of *Ormonde* and *Ossory*, Lieutenant General of the Army, do forthwith send out a Party of Soldiers, of Horse and Foot, to fall upon those Rebels at *Clantarfe*, and thereabouts, who in such disdainful manner stand to out-face us, and dare and to radi-

VOUT

your to cut them off, as well for Punishment as Terror to others, and to burn and spoil the Rebels Houses and Goods: And to prevent their further annoying of the Shipping, going out and coming in, and lying in Harbour, these Soldiers are to bring up, or cause to be brought up, to the new Crane at Dublin, such of the Boats and Vessels now lying there as they can upon the sudden, and to burn, spoil, and sink, and make unserviceable the rest. Given at his Majesties Castle of Dublin, December 14, 1641.

Ormonde Offory, Rob. Dillon. Cha. Lambart. Ad.
Loftus. Jo. Temple, Cha. Coot. Fran. Willoughby.

According to their Lordships Direction, the Earl of Ormonde gave present Order to Sir Charles Coot to march out privately with some Forces unto Clantarfe, which he did without any Noise, and meeting there with no Opposition, he only suffered his Men to pillage the Town, whereof they burnt some part, as also part of Mr. King's House, in which much of the Goods were found that had been taken out of the Bark before mention'd: And this was the first Expedition that the Forces newly raised in Dublin made after the Defeat of the Six hundred Men in their passage to Tredagh: As for the Massacre at Santry, The true Relation of the pretended Massacre at Santry. mention'd in the Answer from the Lords of the Pale, and obtruded to the World as a just Pretence to deter them from waiting on the Lords at Dublin, it was no other than this; Information was given to some of the Officers of the Army, that there had been a Robbery newly committed by certain Rebels at the House of one Smith, called the Buskin, within Five Miles of the City: And that if a Party of Soldiers might be sent forth, the Informer offered to bring them upon those Rebels, as also upon other Rebels, who had lately murdered one Mr. Derick Hubart, a Dutch Merchant at the Skerries; whereupon Two Officers, with Forty Foot, were sent out with Direction to fall upon those Rebels: They went directly to Santry, and there finding some Strangers with Weapons lodged in suspicious Places, they slew four of them who as was conceived were criminal Offenders, and one of them after, upon further Enquiry, found to be a Protestant.

But how fairly soever this Matter was carried, yet they resolved to make use of it for the present, by way of Justification of their Disloyalty: And having so far publicly declared themselves, they held it not fit to sit idle any longer, but began to put the whole Circuit of the Pale into a Posture of War, and to make all such Preparatives.

The Proceedings held by the Lords and Gentlemen of the English Pale, after they had joyned with the Northern Rebels.

as might enable them, by the powerful Assistance they had out of the North, presently to take in *Tredagh*, and afterwards to march up to *Dublin*, and there make themselves Masters of that City and Castle; a Work, as now it stood represented unto them, not likely to prove less Glorious than Successful, and easy to be Atchieved: They had for this End many publick Meetings among themselves, as also with the chief Commanders of the Northern Rebels.

In the first place, they declared the Lord Viscount *Gormonstown* General of the Forces to be raised in the *Pale*, *Hugh Birne* Lieutenant General: the Earl of *Fingale* General of the Horse: Then they gave Power to those Lords to nominate Captains in several Baronies to be respectively appointed out of them, and likewise to raise Soldiers in every such Barony, viz. Eight Soldiers out of a Plow-land (which contains, according to the antient Estimation, a Hundred and twenty Acres) and every Plow-land to maintain the Soldiers to be set out by them: The Barony of *Duleek* was assigned to the Lord of *Gormanstown*, the Barony of *Screeve* and *Desse* to the Earl of *Fingale*, the Barony of *Slaine* to the Lord of *Slaine*, the Barony of the *Navan* to the Lord of *Trimblestone*: *Kells* to the Lord *Dunsany*, *Ratogh* and *Dunboine* to Sir *Richard Barnewall* of *Crickestown*, Baronet, and *Patrick Barnewall* of *Kilbrew*; and by these Persons several Captains were appointed, and numbers of Soldiers raised according to the Orders set down at the General Meeting: There were also Warrants issued out by the Lord *Gormanstown*, whereby those Persons appointed to raise the Men, and to furnish them with Provisions for their Entertainment, were required upon pain of Death to send them out: Other Warrants were likewise sent out to other Persons who were appointed Overseers for the Threshing out of all the Protestants Corn, which was assigned generally through the *Pale* to be applied towards the Maintenance of their Army. The next Work was to make a constant Provision of all Necessaries for the Entertainment of such Forces as were already brought down out of the North, as well as those raised in the *Pale*, and set down at the Siege of *Tredagh*. And for this Service they cessed the whole Country thereabouts, and ordered what Proportions of Corn and Numbers of Cattle should be brought out of every part for the Victualling of those that lay encamped about the Town: There was allotted to every Company consisting of a Hundred Men, for their daily Allowance, one Beef, and half a Barrel of Corn: And that they might with the more facility bring in the Country People to furnish their Army with these Proportions, they made not only Prohibitions that no Corn should be carried to

Dublin,

Dublin, but so blocked up the Ways, as the poor Churles that lived somewhat distant from the City, could not carry their Corn thither without apparent Danger; whereby the Market began to be ill provided, and great Want and Scarcity was much feared by reason of the large accession of People come from several parts of the Kingdom up unto the City for Safety. Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council made Proclamations to be published, That all such as had Corn remaining within some few Miles distance, should, as their usual manner was, bring it to the Market at *Dublin*, and they should receive ready Money for the same; in case they did not that, they would presently send out Parties and burn their Corn as it stood in the Haggards, and so prevent the Use the Rebels intended to make of it for the Victualling of their Army. By this means the City was indifferently well supplied all that Winter with Corn; the Country People, though otherways very malicious against the *English* and Protestants, being content, though with much hazard, to adventure the bringing their Corn, where they sold it at a good Rate for ready Money, rather than to suffer it to be threshed out by Warrents from the Lord of *Gormanstown*, for the Use of the *Irish* Army then lying before *Tredagh*.

But while they continue their fruitless and unprofitable Attempts there, having neither Skill, Courage, Experience, nor any Means to bring about their impetuous Desires and fond Endeavours for the taking in of that Town, I shall briefly represent a View of the sad state of our Affairs in *Dublin*: It was now almost full two Months since the breaking out of this Rebellion: The Lords Justices and Council out of their deep Apprehensions of a general Revolt of all the *Irish* through the Kingdom, did in the very Beginning, with much Earnestness sollicite the present sending over of Succours out of *England*: And as soon as they began to make a little further Discovery into the Strength of this Conspiracy, and found their own Wants and utter Disabilities to make any long or considerable Opposition against the universal Power of the whole Body of the *Irish*, as it then began to appear unto them, firmly united with almost all the Old *English* that were of the *Romish* Profession, incorporated into their Party throughout *Ireland*, they did with much more earnestness, by their frequent Letters and several Agents, represent unto His Majesty and the Parliament of *England*, the very ill, even desperate Condition they were in; and therefore desired that Supplies both of Men Money and all kind of warlike Provisions, might be sent away with all speed unto them, declaring, that unless they received them presently, and

The sad Condition of the Publick Affairs of the State.

The sending
of Ten thou-
sand Scots in-
to Ireland
pressed by the
Lords Justices
and Council.
Commission-
ers sent out to
Scotland to
Treat with
the Parlia-
ment of Eng-
land, con-
cerning the
relief of Ire-
land.

Propositions
presented to
the Parlia-
ment of Eng-
land for the
Relief of Ire-
land.

and that in great Proportion, they were not able longer to subsist as they stood now environed on all sides with Multitudes of the Rebels, but had just Reason to apprehend their own present Ruin, and the inevitable Loss of the whole Kingdom: And because they conceived the Levies in *England* could not be so suddenly made, nor the Men so easily transported from thence into the North of *Ireland* (where the Rebels appeared in greatest Numbers, and had by their most unparallel'd Cruelty towards the *English* done most Mischief) as out of *Scotland*: They made a Proposition to the Lord Lieutenant, to move both His Majesty and the Parliament, that Ten thousand Scots might be presently raised and sent over into those Parts. This they pressed with much Earnestness, representing the very great Terror the meer *Irish* had of that Nation, that their Bodies would better sort with that Climate, endure more Hardship, and with less Distemper undergoe the Toil and Miseries of an *Irish* War, that the Transportation would be made with much more Facility and less Charge, it being not above three or four Hours Sail from some Parts of *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*, That the Kingdom of *Scotland* had been lately in Arms, and so had all Provisions necessary for the furnishing of their Men for this Expedition in readiness: And lastly, they having so good a Foundation in the Multitude of their own Country-men so advantageously settled there already, would no doubt undertake the Work with all Alacrity, and vigorously prosecute the War with such Sharpness, as might testify their deep Resentment of the horrid Cruelties exercised upon so many Thousands of their own Nation by that barbarous People.

These Letters arrive very opportunely about the time of the Kings return from *Edenburgh* to the Parliament of *England* then sitting at *Westminster*: And there being even then two *Scottish* Lords come out of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to treat with the Parliament of *England* concerning the sending Forces from thence for the Relief of *Ireland*. His Majesty sent to the Lords and Commons to give them Notice of their Arrival, and withal desired, that certain Commissioners appointed by himself, and both Houses of Parliament, might be presently named to treat with them, and from time to time, give an Account of their Proceedings to His Majesty and both Houses. This Motion was, with very great Readiness, yielded unto, and it was ordered, that the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Lord *Howard of Estric*; nominated by the House of Peers: And *Nathaniel Fennes*, Esq; Sir *William Ermin*, Baronet, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Knight, *John Hamden*,

den Esq; nominated by the House of Commons, should Treat with the Scots Commissioners concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*, and that there should be a Commission granted unto them to this Effect, under the Great Seal of *England*, together with particular Instructions to regulate the Manner of their Proceedings.

In the Propositions given in by the Scots Commissioners, they did in the first Place make offer of ten Thousand Men in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: And that they might be enabled to send them speedily away, they desired an Advance of 30000 *l.* of the Brotherly Assistance afforded unto them by the Kingdom of *England*, and that what Arms and Munition they sent into *Ireland* might in the same Proportion be returned unto them with all Expedition.

Propositions presented to the Parliament of *England* for the relief of *Ireland*.

Next they desired that some Ships of War might be appointed to guard the Seas betwixt *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to waft over their Soldiers which they designed to transport in small Vessels.

And then that upon landing of their Men in *Ireland*, there should be a 100 Horse ready to join with every 1000 Foot that they should send thither: And that they should receive Instructions and Orders, and in every thing obey the Scots General.

These Propositions being taken into Consideration in the House of Commons, after they had duly considered of them, and weighed the high Necessities of this Kingdom, that the Scots had 2500 Men ready raised, and that they could not so suddenly make Provision any other Way for the saving *Ireland*, as by sending of these Forces out of *Scotland*, they readily condescended unto them, and having voted them severally, they sent them up to the House of Peers, with their Desires for a speedy Concurrence in them.

These Beginnings gave great Hopes of a sudden Relief of *Ireland*, and it was now generally believed, that considerable Forces would be transported within a very short time out of *Scotland* for the Defence of the Northern parts of this Kingdom; especially considering with how much earnestness His Majesty in His Speech made to the Lords and Commons in Parliament on the 14th of *December*, in this present Year, had pressed them to take to heart the Business of *Ireland*, and offered unto them whatsoever His Power, Pains or Industry could contribute to the good and necessary Work of reducing the *Irish* Nation to their true and wonted Obedience.

But, alas! these great Expectations were soon dashed, and the Forces designed for *Ireland*, as well out of *England* as *Scotland* strangely retarded by several Obstructions which daily arose in the Transactions of the *Irish* Affairs.

The Forces designed for *Ireland* retarded.

For first, His Majesty in the same Speech, wherein he conjured them by all that was dear to him or them, to go on chearfully and speedily for the Reducing of *Ireland*, did take notice of a Bill for pressing Soldiers for *Ireland* depending in the House of Peers, and declaring His dislike of putting it in that Way, told them He would pass it so, there were a *Salvo jure* put into it both for the King and People, but withal, told them that He thought himself little beholding unto him whosoever he was, that began this Dispute so far trenching upon the Bounds of His ancient and undoubted Prerogative.

These passages in His Majesty's Speech were deeply resented, not only by the Lords, who were more particularly concerned in them, but by the House of Commons: And therefore His Majesty had no sooner ended His Speech and left their House, but that the Lords fell into Consideration of the same, and resolved that the King by taking Notice of the Debate in their House, of the Bill concerning pressing of Soldiers, had broken the Fundamental Priviledges of Parliament. And presently a Message was brought unto them, likewise by Mr. *Hellis* from the House of Commons, to desire a Conference with their Lordships by Committees of both Houses touching the Priviledges of Parliament: At the Conference they fully expressed the deep Sense they had of the high Injury offered unto them by His Majesty in invading their Priviledges, and proceeded so far as to come not only to petition His Majesty, and to desire that he would be pleased to make known that Person who had given him Information so unduly of what had passed in their House: But also, to make a Protestation concerning their Priviledges: This took up some time, and the great Misunderstanding even which then began to appear betwixt His Majesty and the Parliament, had so strong an Influence into the Business of *Ireland*, as notwithstanding the high Necessities of this Kingdom, and the great Affections expressed by the Kingdom of *England* for our sudden Relief here, the Resolutions were slow, and the Preparations went so heavily on, as it was long before the House of Commons could find Means to enable the Lord Lieutenant to send so much as one Regiment away out of *England*, for the Defence of the Castle and City of *Dublin*, then much distressed by the near approach of the Rebels.

The Debate of the Propositions presented by the Scottish Commissioners in the House of Peers.

And now for the Forces to be sent out of *Scotland* into Northern Parts of this Kingdom, they meet with several Obstructions likewise. For first, the Commissioners of *Scotland* had not Power given them from the State there to Treat for the sending over a lesser Number than 10000 Men, which the Lords here were very unwilling to con-

descend

descend unto. But this Obstacle was soon removed by zealous Affections of the House of Commons, who as soon as the Propositions brought in by the *Scots* Commissioners for the Relief of *Ireland*, were presented unto them, voted their Assent to Treat for the sending of the Number of 10000 Men out of *Scotland*, according to the Instructions given to the Commissioners by that Kingdom, and sent up a Message to the House of Peers by Sir *Philip Stapleton* Knight, to lay before their Lordships the miserable Estate of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to let them know, that the House of Commons conceived the best way for the Preservation of it out of the Hands of the Rebels, was speedily to dispatch the *Scots* into the Province of *Ulster*, and therefore desired that they would joyn with them in the Propositions received from the *Scots* Commissioners.

Upon the receipt of this Message, the House of Peers fell upon the said Proposition, and after a long Debate, it was at length agreed that 10000 *Scots* should be sent into *Ireland*, if the House of Commons would condescend, that at the same time there might 10000 *Englishmen* be as speedily sent likewise thither, and thereupon desired a Conference with the House of Commons, that they might fully understand their Resolution therein, which being yielded unto by the House of Commons. The Lords at the Conference pressed with much Earnestness, that they might be assured of the sending over of 10000 *English* at the same time that the *Scots* were to be sent away: Whereupon the House of Commons replied, that they were not to be capitulated withal, that their Actions were free as well without Conditions as Capitulations, that they thought they had given sufficient certainty already of their Resolution to send that Number of *English* into *Ireland*, and therefore desired that their Lordships would Vote the sending away of 10000 *Scots* by it self without any Relation to the *English* spoken of by them.

This took up a large Debate in the House of Peers, and was one main Cause of the slow Proceeding on of the Treaty with the *Scots* Commissioners. I shall not undertake to determine at so great a Distance from whence these Obstructions grew, but I am very sure we could here easily find, that there were some such secret Workings underhand against the good Affections expressed by the House of Commons, and by the Lords who were well affected to the Service of *Ireland*, as that this Treaty was very much retarded thereby, and was not brought on to any Conclusion in many Months after. So as in the Mean time, all the *British* planted throughout this Kingdom, were despoiled, driven out of their Habitations, or most Cruelly

murdered within their own Doors: And the *Irish* strengthened themselves in all parts of the Country and prevailing every where, drew many to join with them, that had hitherto kept themselves in a kind of Neutrality, as supposing that the State here would be altogether Desert, and no Forces at all sent out of *England* for the Suppressing of the *Irish* as had taken up Arms in this Quarrel.

The revolt of
the *Irish* in
the Province
of *Munster*.

The whole Province of *Munster* about the midst of this Month of *December*, began to declare themselves in open Rebellion. The Lord President there, had used his utmost Endeavours to suppress their very Beginnings, but by Reason of his want of Strength was now able to contain them no longer: He did with all Deligence and Carefulness Labour to prevent the joining together of any Numbers of the *Irish* in any of those Parts: And when he understood how they began in some Places of the Province to despoil the *English*, and that they had near *Waterford*, gotten away many of the *Englishmen's* Cattle, and were carrying them out of the Limits of his Government, he thought it not fit longer to sit still, but gallantly pursued those Rebels in his own Person, being accompanied only with his own Troop of Horse, and some few Gentlemen of the Country, who joined with them, and after a long and tedious March came upon them unawares, slew 2000 of those Rebels, restored the Cattle to the *English* that were Owners of them, and took several Prisoners whom he hanged for a greater Terrour to all such as should adventure afterwards to follow their Example: As soon as he had done this Service, his Lordship retired back to *Cork*, having neither Forces nor Means to make any further Prosecution: Which the *Irish* well enough understood, and therefore drew together in several Places of that Province, and though they did not in that barbarous manner, as they in *Ulster*, hew down, cut in Pieces, Hang, Drown or presently Murder all the *English* among them: Yet many horrid Murders they committed, used several kinds of Cruelty to many particular Persons, and for all the rest that fell into their Hands, they robbed and violently deprived them of all their Goods and Cattle; most miserably stripped them out of their Cloaths and leaving them quite naked, suffered most of them in that lamentable Posture to pass to *Cork*, *Youghall*, *Kinsale*, and other Ports there to embark their miserable Carcasses for *England*, where few arrived safely, and I am sure I may well say few, in respect of those Multitudes who perished through Want, Cold and Famine, before they could get to those Towns, or otherways died after their Arrival in them, or were by Storms at Sea cast away.

The misery
suffered by
the *English*
in *Munster*.

And

And for the *English* who stood upon their Guard and immured themselves up in several Castles of good strength in those Parts, they endured many Months Siege, suffered much Want and Misery, and having bravely resisted all the Assaults and Attempts that the *Irish* made with great Multitudes upon them, and in many Places caused them to raise their Sieges with great loss and slaughter of their Men, yet they were afterwards, finding themselves without all hope or possibility of Relief, enforced to deliver those Places, together with the Multitudes of *English* they had received into the Hands of the Rebels, upon fair Quarter solemnly promised by them: And in many Places no sooner had they by that Means gotten entrance into them, but that they most perfidiously broke the Quarter given, despoiled them of that little remainder of their Substance they had then left, and sent them away in great Want and Misery to find Relief among other *English* Garrisons. But the whole Country being wasted and destroyed, and the poor *English* that lived in them despoiled of all their Substance, were able to afford them very little Relief or Comfort besides Pity and Compassion, which could not support or keep alive those languishing gastly Creatures, so as Multitudes died, some in Ditches, some travelling on the High-ways, some under Hedges, and so left their Carcasses as fearful Spectacles to the Beholders, and sad Monuments of the Inhumane Cruelties exercised on them by those bloody Rebels, who yet under pretence of Mercy spared their Lives, but took up a Resolution, as they were not ashamed to declare, to put them to a more lingering Death, and therefore left them in such a Condition as inevitably brought on their miserable Ends with much more Discomfort and Sorrow.

But this shall suffice to shew the Beginning of the Rising of the *Irish* in *Munster*; the Particulars whereof shall be clearly and at large set down in the following Relations of their Proceedings within that Province, where it shall be declared likewise, how all the great Towns in *Linster*, except *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, did about the same time begin to strip and expel all the *British* and Protestants, that either inhabited in them or fled out of the Country near about to shelter themselves there, from the barbarous Cruelties of their *Irish* Neighbours.

As for the City of *Dublin*, it began now to be much more straitly encompassed by the Forces of the Rebels, much encreased through their late Conjunction with the *English* Pale. And in case of their want of Power to force it, yet they having made their Approaches so near, and having so absolutely stopped up all the Avenues, as we had great Reason to apprehend their keeping back of Provisions would drive

Dublin distressed.

drive the City into high Necessities, and quickly occasion great Want there. And here I cannot without much grief of Heart call to mind the lamentable Complaints and bitter Out-crys, which until this time, were continually sent up unto the Lords Justices and Council while they remained in this Posture, out of several Parts of the Country, where the *English* Inhabitants being by the *Irish* driven out of their Habitations, had for their present Safeguard put themselves into Houses or Castles of some Strength; they there enduring much Want and Misery, made shift, though not without great difficulty, by several Messages and Letters to make known their Condition to the State, as also that they were resolved, as many of them did, to suffer the utmost Extremities out of hope of Relief, and a confident Expectation of Succours from them.

But alas all was vain! they were able to afford them no other Comfort than what their pitiful Commiseration of their sorrowful Condition would administer; they were themselves reduced so low, as with the greatest Power they could raise, they durst not adventure to send any ways five Miles out of the City; their Supplies out of *England* were not arrived, they had neither Place nor Means to raise Men, but only within the verge of the City, and such as they ordinarily took up there, were either *Irish*, whereof many ran presently away with their Arms to the Rebels, or poor stripped *English* and Inhabitants of this City, who were raw Men, and though they afterwards, being well exercised and trained to the Use of their Arms, proved very good Soldiers, yet for the present they were very unfit for Service; as appeared in that little Expedition Colonel *Craford* made out with his Men to *Finglas*, a little Town two Miles distant from the City, at the same time when Sir *Charles Coote* marched forth to beat *Luke Netterville* with his undisciplined Regiment out of his Quarters at *Santry*, who having timely notice of his coming, saved him the Labour, for he presently, upon the Rumour thereof, dislodged and fled in so much haste, as he left some of his best Equipage and all his Provisions behind him: But that Party of Rebels Colonel *Craford* found at *Finglas*, having placed themselves with good advantage behind great Ditches, stood better to their Work, and carried themselves so stoutly, as our new raised Men began to shrink, and had not the Colonel and some other of his Officers behaved themselves very well that Day, their Men had made a most dangerous and shameful Retreat. This was the greatest Expedition the Forces in *Dublin* were able to undertake at that time, which no Man will wonder at if he doth consider, as it hath been related, how the Town was in a manner

Some Forces sent out to encounter the Rebels, who lodged within three miles of *Dublin*.

manner furrounded on every side, by several Parties of the Rebels *Dublin* furrounded on every side by the Rebels. gathered together; all Commerce was interrupted, all Provisions brought out of the Country for the Supply of it intercepted, as also, that all the chief of the *English* Inhabitants had transported themselves, their Goods, and their Families into *England*, many of the Papists had, upon other Reasons, retired themselves, and what belonged unto them into the Country, and there taken up their Habitations within the Rebels Quarters; no manner of Intercourse with any Persons whatsoever, that made their Abode without the distance of two Miles from any part of the City, no Intelligence to be had upon any Terms from among the Rebels, all Courses taken for it disappointed, several Messengers hanged up; and yet, on the other side, all our Designs disclosed, our Weakness discovered, and the most private Resolutions, by one means or other, communicated unto them. The Parties of the Rebels that lay near about the City were these following; *Luke Netterville* being beaten from *Santry*, lay with near Two thousand Men at *Swords*, a Town six Miles distant, and possessed himself of the Castle of *Artaine*, and some other places within two Miles of the City: On the West side of the City, at *Tassagard*, *Rath-coole*, *Castle-Lyons*, and other little Villages within the Compass of six Miles, there lay Two thousand more of the Rebels who were come down out of the Counties of *Catherlogh*, *King's County*, *Kildare*, and other parts, under the Command of *Roger Moore* and *Sutton*, *Eustace* of *Castle Martin*, and others. The *Clandonells*, *Birnes* and *Tooles*, were also come down in great Numbers out of the County of *Wicklow*, and had lodged themselves in some Castles towards the Sea-side, and in some Villages at the Foot of the Mountain, not above three or four Miles distant from the Town on the South-side: How desperately these Forces threatned our Ruin and sudden Destruction will appear by this ensuing Letter, bearing Date about the midst of *December*, written from the Lords Justices and Council, unto the Lord Lieutenant then attending for his Dispatch.

A LETTER from the Lords Justices and Council to the Lord Lieutenant.

May it please your Lordship,

BY our Letters of the third of *December*, we made known to your Lordship, that *M. Hawtrige* was then newly arrived with the Treasure sent us from thence, which came but to Sixteen thousand five hundred fourscore and ten Pounds, to a Supply of Treasure far short of that which is now become necessary to perform any considerable Service here against the Rebels, whose numbers are increased wonderfully, insomuch as the Forces they have about *Drogheda* on all sides it, and between *Drogheda* and this place, reaching even within four Miles of this City,

City, are upon very credible Report, conceived to be above Twenty thousand Men, and besides those Numbers who are so united between this and *Drogheda*, and thereabouts, there are many Thousands of them dispersed the whole Kingdom over; for the meaner sort of People first rise generally, and then those of better Quality follow after; and the Fire which was first kindled in *Ulster*, and lay a while smothered in other parts, begins now to break out so generally, as the Defection now appears to be universal throughout the whole four Provinces; so strangely rooted was the Combination, and that strengthened under the specious shew of a War for Religion; for although before and since the Caution we had from your Lordship, We have on our part endeavoured not to give any Apprehension to the *Irish*, that *England* doth intend to make it a War of Religion, yet as we formerly made known to your Lordship, the Rebels labour mainly to have it so understood. Nay, they now go so far as they call themselves generally the Catholick Army, a Title which hath drawn many Thousands to their Party, and yet many joyned with them for no other Reason than because they saw our Succours expected forth of *England* and *Scotland* deferred, they rightly judging, that without those Succours we are not able to defend them our selves, and indeed until those Succours come, they must and will still encrease; but if our Men and Arms were once arrived, the very Countenance of their coming would draw many of them to us, and give some stop to the Fury, with which they yet carry all before them whither soever they come.

They continue their Rage and Malignity against the *English* and Protestants; who if they leave their Goods or Cattle for more safety with any Papists, those are called out by the Rebels, and the Papists Goods and Cattle left behind; and now upon some new Councils taken by them, they have added to their former, a further Degree of Cruelty, even of the highest Nature, which is to proclaim, That if any *Irish* shall harbour or relieve any *English*, that be suffered to escape them with his Life, that it shall be penal even to Death, to such *Irish*; and so they will be sure though they put not those *English* actually to the Sword, yet they do as certainly, and with more Cruelty, cut them off that way, than if they had done it by the Sword; and they profess they will never give over until they leave not any Seed of an *English-man* in *Ireland*.

Nor is their Malice towards the *English* expressed only so, but further, even to the Beasts of their Fields, and Improvements of their Lands, for they destroy all Cattle of *English* breed, and declare openly, that their Reason is, because they are *English*; so great is their Hatred, not only to the Persons of the *English*, but also to every Species of that Nation, and they destroy all Improvements made by the *English*, and lay waste their Habitations.

We formerly signify'd to your Lordship, that to take away all Jealousie from the Papists of the *English Pale*, we would furnish them with some Arms, and the rather because we well know, that in the last great Rebellion in *Ireland*, the

English

English Pale stood firm to the Crown of *England*; and that the Rebel *Tyrone* in the height of his Power and Greatness, was never able to get into the *Pale* with his Forces whilst he was in Rebellion; and upon this occasion, the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, making deep Professions of their Loyalty to His Majesty, in imitation of their Ancestors, and with Expressions seeming to abhor the Contrivers of this Rebellion here, against whom they offered their Power and Strength, so as they might have Arms; and we being well assured, that if we could gain their Concurrence with us, it would much facilitate our Work; we did at their earnest Suit issue for them Arms for One thousand seven hundred Men, wherewith divers Companies were armed by them, and some of themselves were appointed Governors of the Forces of the Counties, and Captains of their Companies: but so many of those Companies revolted to the Rebels, and carried away their Arms with them, as we have recovered back but Nine hundred and fifty Arms; so as those whose Loyalty we had reason to expect would help us, are now thro' their Disloyalty turned against us, and are strengthened with our own Arms; and without all question, if those of the *English Pale* had done their Parts as become good Subjects with their Arms they had from us, and those they might gather amongst themselves; they might with our help, not only have defended the *Pale* against the Rebels, but might also have prevented the Ruin and Destruction wrought by their Tenants and Neighbours on the poor *English* and Protestants amongst them; for the Noblemen and Gentry sate still and looked on, whilst the *English* and Protestants were ruined before their Faces; the Papists in the mean time remaining secure without the loss of Goods or any thing else.

When we saw the Power and Strength of the Rebels still growing upon us more and more, and approaching by degrees more near to us, and the *English* and Protestants robbed and spoiled even within two Miles of this City, in disdain and affront of this State, which are Scorns of so high a Nature as we could not endure, if we had Strength sufficient to repress their Insolencies; and when we observed the retarding our Succours of Men and Arms from *England* or *Scotland*, neither of both being yet come, nor as we heard, so much as in View there or in *Scotland*, and when we found apparently, that for want of those Supplies we became in a manner so contemptible, as we were in danger to be set upon for taking from us this City and Castle before our Aids should come, we bethought us of all the Means we could of gaining Time, being confident that we cannot be so deserted by the State of *England*, but that some Supplies may yet come unto us: And therefore on the Third of *December*, we directed our Letters to divers of the Nobility of the Kingdom, who were nearest to us, and most of them being of the *English Pale*, to be with us here on the Eighth Day of this Month, that we might confer with them concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and we hoped by their Help, to handle the Matter so as we might gain a few Days time before our Surprisal here, by which time, in all likelihood, our Succours might arrive, al-

though it be boldly given out by the Rebels, that we shall have no Succours from thence, which they divulge to embolden their Party, and to strike Terrour and Discouragement into the well affected, amongst whom there are many so weak, as to apprehend from thence too much Fear, whereby many are fled the Kingdom.

On the eighth Day of this Month, the Earl of *Kildare*, the Lord Viscount *Fitz-Williams*, and the Lord Baron of *Hoath* came unto us, but the rest of the Noblemen not coming deferred our Conference, and on the eleventh Day of this Month we received Letters from Seven of them, namely, The Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viscount *Gormanstown*, the Lord Viscount *Netterville*, and the Lords of *Staine*, *Trimblestone*, *Dunsany* and *Louth*, dated the seventh Day of this Month, and signed by them, pretending a Fear of a Massacre on those of their Religion, and that therefore they are deterred to wait on us, but do rather think fit to stand upon their Guard; and how that Resolution of theirs may stand with the Loyalty they profess, we humbly submit to His Majesty's excellent Judgment, for whose Royal View we send you here inclosed a Copy of their said Letters.

When we received those Letters, we did admire whence their Fears of coming to us should arise, but afterwards we heard that they had been in Consultation with the Rebels, which also as to most of them is confirmed by the enclosed Examination of *Christopher Hampton*; and indeed we know no cause of Fear they have of us, unless their own Guilt begot in them the Fear they pretend; and they spare not, though unjustly, to charge us with a Neglect of their Advices, whereas not one of them to this House offered to us any Advice or real Assistance towards Pacification of these Troubles.

It became then publick (nor could we keep secret that which they had published to others) that those Noblemen so far sided with the Rebels as they now stood on their Guard; we therefore adjudged it fit for vindicating the State from the Aspersions which we found so publicly endeavoured to be laid upon us, to publish the enclosed Proclamation, as well to satisfy to the World as those Noblemen, who certainly are abundantly satisfied in their own secret Thoughts, that we never intended to Massacre them or any other, that being a Thing which we and all good Protestants do much abhor, whatever the Practice of their Religion is, and hath been found to be by woful Experience in other Parts, whereof we confess we are now in great Danger, if our long expected Succours come not the sooner to us; and it may be gathered from that unexampled Tyranny which the Rebels have already exercised towards those of our Nation and Religion who fell into their Hands, what we, for our parts, may expect from them: But the Dishonour and Shame which may reflect upon the *English* Nation, by exposing this State and Kingdom to so apparent Ruin, and with it the Extirpation of God's true Religion, afflicts us more than the Loss of our own Lives and Fortunes, when all might be saved by sending seasonably those Succours.

We

We lately received Letters from the Lady *O'aly*, and a Letter containing most insolent Menaces inclosed therein, sent her from the Rebels, to which she sent them a Noble Answer, Copies whereof we send here inclosed.

One of the Rebels stiling himself Chaplain Major and Overseer of the Coasts and Harbours, lately sent a Summons in a proud and vaunting manner, to one *Edward Leech*, that was entrusted to keep the Island of *Lambay*, requiring the delivery up of that Island to the Rebels, which being done, he gave *Leech* a Pass, wherein he stiles the Rebels Forces the Catholick Army: A Copy of which Summons and Pass we send Your Lordship here inclosed; and *Leech* told Us, that that mighty Chaplain declared openly to him, that he was Plotter of this Rebellion. That he had spent in Travel and Prosecution of that Design beyond Seas Four thousand Pounds; and that all the Kings in *Christendom*, excepting the King of *England*, and the King of *Denmark*, have Hands in this Business.

A Castle in the Town of *Longford*, held by the *English*, who stood out a while against the Rebels, being in the End through want of Victuals necessitated to be rendred up to them upon promise of Quarter, a Popish Priest standing with his Skein in his Hand, watching for the coming forth of a Minister then amongst the *English*, did by thrusting that Skein into the Ministers Guts, and ripping up his Belly, gave that as a Signal to the Rebels, for falling upon the rest of the *English*, which they did accordingly, as soon as the Minister was murdered, killing some, and hanging the rest most perfidiously.

On the Ninth of this Month, we received Advertisement, that great Numbers of Men were gathered together, in warlike manner at *Swords*, in the County of *Dublin*, within six Miles of Us, they having the Army of the Rebels behind them on this side *Drogheda*; whereupon We then immediately sent out Our Warrant, commanding them to disperse: A Copy whereof We send Your Lordship here inclosed; which was not obeyed: But a Letter sent Us from *Luke Netterville* Son to the Lord Viscount *Netterville*, and others of them: A Copy whereof We likewise send here inclosed; whereupon we published the inclosed Manifest, for vindicating this State from their Aspersions also: And it is observeable, that those Gentlemen at *Swords*, could even on that very *Tuesday* Night, wherein they alledge they were so affrighted at their Houses, assemble Twelve hundred Men together in that Moment of time, to have in readiness against any Attempt from the State; whereas for many Days before, they could sit still and look on, whilst an Army of the Enemy lay behind them, betwixt them and *Drogheda*, and whilst some of them openly declared Rebels, and many of their Neighbours, who doubtless hold under-hand Intelligence with the Rebels, robbed and spoiled the *English* on all Parts round about them; and yet those Gentlemen could not in all that time be either so affrighted by the Rebels, or so compassionate of their poor *English* Neighbours, as to assemble any Men for the Defence of themselves, or those their poor *English* Neighbours; and certainly those Gentlemen might have been as

believing in this State who have always used Lenity and Mildness towards them, as in the Forces of the Rebels which lie so near behind them, and who they know have murdered many of His Majesty's good and innocent Subjects, and for ought they know (if there were not secret Intelligence between them) might have used them also in like manner.

But the Truth is, We conceive those Gentlemen had a Mind to join with the Rebels, and do now take up Pretences to cover their Disloyalty, and cast Scandal on this Government.

The Rebels in the *Pale*, as in other Parts, have caused Masses to be said openly in the Churches, expelled the Ministers from Officiating in their Churches, and forced divers Persons for saving their Lives and Goods to become Papists, openly professing that no Protestant shall be suffered to live in *Ireland*, and whilst they insult thus over all the *English* and Protestants, destroying them for no other Reason, but for that they are Protestants and *English*, We let fall nothing against them touching Religion, and yet they feign Things against Us, tending that way to give some Colour to their cruel Proceedings.

The Rebels of the County of *Kildare* have taken the *Naas* and *Kildare* in the County of *Kildare*. The Rebels of *Meath* have taken *Trim*, and *Athboy* in the County of *Meath*, and divers other Places: The Rebels of the County of *Dublin*, have possessed *Swords* and *Rathcoole*, and spoiled all the *English* and Protestants even to the Gates of *Dublin*, and now about Fifteen hundred of the Rebels of *Wicklow*, are in and about *Powerscourt*, and about ten Miles from this City; there are also between this and the *Naas*, within six or seven Miles of Us, a Thousand of the Rebels of *Kildare*, and the Borders of *Wicklow*, and *Dublin*, so as We are in this City invironed by them on all sides by Land, and they began to stop Accesses to Us by Sea; for the Fishermen on the Sea-Coasts being all *Irish* and Papists Inhabitants in the *Pale*, broke out also into Rebellion with the Multitude, and have robbed, spoiled and pillaged even within the Bay of *Dublin* several Barks coming hither from *England*. And if to revenge this Villany on the Fishermen at *Clontarf* and thereabouts, so near Us, We send for a Party of Soldiers to burn and spoil those Rebels Houses and Corn, the Gentleman of the *Pale* will immediately take new Offence; but that We will Adventure upon; for now there is no Dalliance with them, who so far declare themselves against the State, not caring what Scorns are put upon the Government, wherein is observable, that the Landlord of *Clontarf* is one of those Gentlemen risen in Arms at *Swords*.

Your Lordship now sees not only the Necessity of hastening with all possible speed our Succours of Men and Arms both out of *England* and *Scotland*, in greater Numbers than those at first designed, seeing the Breach appears to be far greater, and the Defection more General than at first was conceived; and yet so as such of them as are ready be not forced to stay for the rest, but that those may be so ordered as to come after, for no Flesh can imagine, unless they saw it as We do,

do, the greatness of Our Danger, who are but a Handful in comparison of the Multitudes risen against Us: And We desire that the Ten thousand designed to come from *Scotland*, may be wholly sent away, as well as the Five thousand intended to be left there in a Readiness as the rest, with Direction to land as near *Dublin* as they may, and wheresoever they Land to march to *Dublin* if possibly they can: And to send away with all speed the Ships appointed for guarding these Coasts, is also very necessary to be hastned, and that two or three Ships of good Strength follow after: Doubtless these Rebels expect a very great Supply of Arms and Munition from Foreign Parts, either *Spain* or *France*.

And although out of the Fore-sight We had of this Extremity since these Troubles began, We have endeavoured to get in some Provisions of Victual and Corn, yet We have not been able to provide Our selves sufficiently to stand out any long Siege, nor can We now get in any more, our Markets being almost taken away and the Strength of the Rebels surrounding Us, so as We can fetch in no more Provisions: Wherefore We beseech your Lordship that the Magazines of Victuals designed to be settled on that side, may be settled with all speed, if it be not done already, whereby We and the Succours We expect, may not be in Distress of Victuals for Our selves or them, or Oats for our Horses. Our Want of Victuals is the more in respect of the Daily access of the *English* spoiled in the Country.

The Necessity of the Defence of the Province of *Munster*, required the immediate raising of a Regiment of Foot consisting of One thousand Men, and two Troops of Horse of Threescore each Troop, which Threescore We appointed the Lord President to raise, and for the Payment and Arming of them, We humbly advise, seeing We cannot do it, that Money and Arms be sent from thence to *Toughall*, with a further Supply of Arms and Munition for the Stores in that Province now much wanting there.

And as the Rebels which have beset Us and this City on all sides by Land, do threaten to cut off our Market at *Dublin*, which we begin to feel already: So they boldly declare, that they will within a Day or two cut off the Water-course; which brings Water to this City and Castle; and that done, that their Multitudes will immediately burn Our Suburbs and Besiege Our Walls, which We confess We yet want Strength to defend, and must want till Our Supplies come forth of *England*, or *Scotland*, or both; for here We have but about Three thousand Men, the rest of the old Companies being dispersed in several needful Garrisons in the Country (excepting seven Companies of them surprized, and cut off by the Rebels at their first rising in *Ulster* and other Parts) and about Two hundred Horse by pole of the old Army, whereof many are *Irish*: So as considering the Spaciousness of this City and Suburbs to be defended, the smallness of Our Number to defend them, and the great Numbers of Papist Inhabitants in this City and Suburbs; and lastly, the very great Numbers of the Rebels, who
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are so strong as to approach this City with many Thousands, and yet leave many Thousands also at the Siege of *Drogheda*, We cannot expect to be able to defend this City for any long time against them, without the Arrival of Our expected Succours.

The Earl of *Castlehaven* on the Tenth of this Month, presented at this Board the inclosed Oath tendered unto him by the Rebels to be Sworn by him, which he saith he refused to swear, and We hear they send it to all Parts to be tendered to the People, pressing them to take the Sacrament thereupon.

We did lately, in hope to gain sometime until Our Supplies might come, listen to an Offer made by some Popish Priests to go to the Rebels and Treat with them, as you may perceive by the inclosed: But since we find there is little hope of it, for some of the Priests are returned, nothing being wrought thereby.

However it is fit your Lordship should know what We do; We must now crave leave to declare to your Lordship, that things being risen here to this height, threatening not only the shaking of the Government, but the Loss of the Kingdom, as the Supplies of Men, Arms, and more Treasure, are of great necessity to be hastened away hither; so is it also needful that We enjoy your Lordships Presence here, for the Conduct in your own Person of the great and important Affairs of this State, as well in the Martial as in the Civil Government, which do necessarily require it in this time of great imminent Danger, wherein so far as We may be able to contribute any Assistance with you, We shall be ready to discharge Our Duties therein, with that Loyalty and Uprightness of Heart which We owe to His Majesty, and the particular Respect due from Us to your Lordship; but We hope you will bring that Strength with you, which may besit the Greatness of the King Our Master to send with His Lieutenant against so numerous Enemies as these Rebels are become, as well for the Honour of His Majesty, as for the Terrour of those Rebels.

By what We have heretofore and now humbly represented to your Lordship, you may in part see the greatness of the Publick Danger wherein this Kingdom now stands, and particularly this City and Castle, the principal Place thereof, that if those be lost (which we now again assure your Lordship, were never in so great Peril to be lost since the first Conquest of this Kingdom by the Crown of *England*;) the whole Kingdom must quickly follow, that the Danger which must thereupon arise to the Kingdom of *England*, is very great in many respects. There is no possibility to prevent those Evils with Honour and Safety to *England* but by Succours from thence or *Scotland*, or both, and that if those Succours come not speedily, it cannot be avoided, but the Kingdom will be lost. And if notwithstanding all this, so often and truly made known by Us to your Lordship We shall Perish for want of Supplies, We shall carry this Comfort with Us to Our Graves or any other Burial We shall have, that your Lordship can Witness for Us to the Royal Majesty, and to all the World, that We have discharged

charged Our Duties to God, to His Majesty, to that Nation, and to this, in humbly representing to His Majesty by your Lordship, the chief Governor of the Kingdom, the Extremities and Dangers wherein the Kingdom and People stand, and the Necessity of hastning Supplies hither, by all possible Means for Preservation of both, so as whatever become of Our Persons, Our Memory cannot be justly stained with so wretched a Breach of Faith and Loyalty to the King. Our Master, as to forbear representing thither the Extremities wherein We are, whether We have the Credit to be believed or no; and that We write Truth and most needful Truth, will be found true, when perhaps We shall Perish, and which is more considerable, the Kingdom also for Want of being believed and succoured in time. And so We remain,

Your Lordships to be commanded,

William Parsons. John Butlace,

Ormonde Ossery. R. Dillon. Char. Lambert.

Ad. Loftus. John Temple. Charles Coote.

Francis Willoughby. R. Meredith.

From His Majesty's Castle of Dublin,
14th December, 1641.

POSTSCRIPT.

By Our Letters to your Lordship of the 21d of November, We did desire to be informed from thence, whether the Parliament here being once Prorogued, may not again be Prorogued by Proclamation before they Sit, or whether it be of Necessity that they must Sit again, and the Parliament to be Prorogued the House Sitting: And now that this Rebellion hath over-spread the whole Kingdom, and that many Members of both Houses are involved therein, so as the Parliament cannot Sit. We humbly Desire to know His Majesty's Pleasure therein, and if His Majesty shall think fit to prorogue it, which in present We held expedient, that then We may receive His Commandment for Prorogation, and that the Doubt concerning that be cleared; for to assemble at that time cannot be with Safety.

Our Letters the third of December, have been hitherto withheld on this side by contrary Winds.

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In this most miserable Condition, the Lords Justices and Council continued shut up within the City of *Dublin*, struggling with all their Power for a short Preservation from those dismal Calamities which had generally overspread the whole Kingdom: Their Care, Travel, and Endeavours, had hitherto in some Measure extended to the most remote Parts, how they might assuage the swelling Distempers, or yield some Relief to the lamentable Complaints and bitter Out-cries daily brought up unto them. But now the Evils abroad were grown past their Cure, and their own Danger so multiplied as they were enforced to spend their time almost in a perpetual Consultation, never at rest, sometimes raised in the Night by sudden Advertisements, always in constant perplexity and trouble, desperately threatned on every side, so as what through Treachery within or Form without, they had just Reason to apprehend the loss of the City and Castle wherein they had enclosed themselves, and so consequently the

Ruin and Destruction of all the *British* and Protestants throughout all other Parts of the Kingdom. And thus they continued until the most happy and welcome Arrival of that truly Valiant Gentleman and Gallant Commander Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who being designed Governor of the City of *Dublin*, was dispatched away by special Order of Parliament with his Regiment for the Preservation of that Place, and landed here on the last of *December*, 1641.

to the great Joy and Comfort of all His Majesty's Protestants, and well affected Subjects, and to the Terror of those Rebels now in Arms, who had made themselves believe that no Succours would be sent out of *England* towards the Suppressing of their Notorious Rebellion.

And now my Intentions were to have proceeded further on in setting down what hath fallen out within the next four Months, and then to have added a brief Account of all such particular Passages as have been acted during the Space of six Months within all the several Counties of this Kingdom, and so having recollected and presented, as it were, at one view the publick Calamities and miserable Desolations of all the four Provinces there, to have sat down and made the first Period of this Story.

But I must here take up being unexpectedly called away; I resolve therefore patiently to attend the restoring of this Kingdom and the re-settlement of our Affairs; and then if I find not this Work undertaken and perfected by some more skilful Hand, I shall hope to get the rest of it together, and make such further Provision of all other Materials as may enable me to go through with the same.

In the Mean time it will not be amiss to take Notice, that the Rebels within very few Months after their first breaking out, had so ordered their Affairs, as that by their sudden Surprizes, their sharp and bloody Executions, their barbarous stripping and despoiling of all Sorts that fell into their Hands, they had cleared

cleared the In-land Counties of all the *British* Inhabitants : And except some few Castles, and other Places of Strength, which they held severally besieged, and had most of them suddenly after surrendred for want of Relief, they had in a manner made themselves absolute Masters in all those Parts of the Kingdom. And for the Maritime Places, there were only some of the chief Cities which were held out against them, besides some few other Forts and Places of no great Importance : As in the Province of *Leinster*, the City of *Dublin* ; and in the Province of *Munster*, the Cities of *Cork*, *Toughalt* and *Kinsale* ; in *Ulster*, *Londonderry*, *Colrairie*, and *Carrickfergus* : And all these they held either besieged, much distressed, or they were otherways so overpressed with the Multitudes of poor stripped People fled to them for Safety, as they were confident they could not long hold out ; but that either open Force, Treachery, Famine, or Sickness, would within a short time inevitably put them into their Hands.

Thus it pleased God to humble His own People in this Land, and for their Sins to give them up into the Power of their cruel Enemies, who began now to sacrifice to their own Nets, to celebrate the Memory of their Victories : And upon the Prosperity of their Undertakings and late Success, they were become so confident of prevailing even to the total Extirpation of all the *British* and Protestants out of this Kingdom, as they proceeded to set down a certain Form of Government, nominated the Persons whom they intended to entrust with the Management of their Affairs, what Laws they would have revoked, what Statutes newly enacted : And in the mean time they erected a Council which they stiled the Supreme Council, which they invested with absolute Power and Authority to order and govern the whole Kingdom. This consisted of certain Noblemen, Gentlemen, three or four Lawyers, and one Physicain, who being elected unto this Charge had the Place of their Residence, appointed unto them at *Kilkenny*, a City in the Province of *Leinster*, where they sat ordinarily for the Dispatch of all the great and weighty Affairs of their State : They there erected several Courts of Judicature, they made a new Broad Seal, appointed several great Officers of State, coined Money, settled an Excise upon all kind of Commodities, and formed many other Acts of Regal Power.

Now how they proceeded on in the ordering these great Affairs, what Councils they took, what Means they used to enable themselves to make Opposition against the Forces sent over by the Parliament of *England* unto all the four Provinces of *Ireland*, I shall here forbear to speak of. These Particulars must be reserved for the ensuing part of this Story, where they will most properly fall in to be related : And where likewise we shall find so strange a turn, such a remarkable Declination of their Power, their Hearts failing them for fear, their Councils infatuated, their Designs blasted, their Forces routed, their Sieges raised, such a general defailance and inprosperity in all their Undertakings, as we must needs give Glory to our Maker, and acknowledge that

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God hath most wonderfully wrought for the Deliverance of the poor small Remnant of His People, which were here shut up and designed to the Slaughtering.

For after a considerable Number of Horse as well as Foot sent over by the Parliament of *England* arrived at *Dublin*, and had in some petty Encounters thereabouts tried the Mettal of the Rebels, and found their Spirit of a poor and base Alloy, they began extreemly to disvalue them, and would be no longer abused with the fabulous Reports of their great Strength or Numbers which with much Advantage they had long made use of: Therefore now they began to seek them out in all Places, and wheresoever they came to meet with them, they always prevailed even with small Numbers very often against great Multitudes of them, sparing not many times to pursue them unto the midst of their greatest Fastness, and made the very Boggs and Woods unsafe Receptacles for their broken Troops. And with so great Success was the War prosecuted by the *English* from the first landing of their Forces out of *England* until the Treaty of that most unhappy Cessation concluded in *September* 1643. as that in all the Encounters they had with the Rebels during that time they never received any Scorn or Defeat, but went on Victoriously, beating them down in all Parts of the Kingdom: And so they carried on this Work before them without any Assistance either from the meer *Irish* or the *English Irish*: For I cannot my self remember any Gentleman of Quality throughout the whole Kingdom, that was there born and breed up a Papist, that put himself into that Service, or Desired to be listed as a Member of the *English* Army. It is true, some of the common Soldiers there were of the *English Irish* that came in, and though they were not considerable for their Number yet they did good Service and still with much Fury and Sharpness followed on upon the Execution.

F I N I S.

...and of October 1841, (I may remember) I was living at
...upon the general terror

To His Lady, of the Siege of *Tredagh*; and other
Passages of the Wars of Ireland where he Com-
manded.

My Dearly Beloved,

IT is not Fame, Report, nor Testimony of others, but your own Eyes, have seen and beheld the Wonderful Mercies of God, and in your self experimented many Deliverances from Violence, Death, and Famine. Neither need I put you in mind, or exhort you to a Daily Thankful Commemoration of these Blessings; for I know your Piety, continual Practice, and Sincerity of Heart, are full and perfect Motives to lead you unto it. Yet not knowing whether I may have time to Breath my last Desires and Affections in your Ears, I have left this Paper as a Witness of them, wherein I exhort you to bear all Crosses and Calamities that may befall you with Prudence, Constancy of Mind, and a Religious Respect, Remembring that there is nothing befalls us, but that which is predisposed by the Almighty Maker of all Things, and that to our Everlasting Good and Glory, if we make a right Use and Benefit of it. Be not sparing of God's Blessings to Communicate with the Needy, when God gives them; for with such Sacrifices God is well pleased; and you will find that the *Oyl* in the *Cruise*, and the *Meal* in the *Barrel*, will not be wasted until these Days of Calamity

The History of the Siege of Drogheda

are passed over, and that God hath Restored you to your former Plenty. There is much due unto me, and peradventure you and your Children may Live in Calmer and more Prosperous Seasons to partake of it. My Papers I have left with you, and because you cannot Remember, nor are Privy to every Circumstance, that may plead for some Regard towards you, in Relation to my Carriage and the Discharge of my Duty, in the various Occurrences of these ~~last~~ ^{last} Years, I shall in these ensuing Lines set you down many of those Things, wherein God hath blessed me with wonderful Deliverance, and used my Weakness as an Instrument to manifest his mighty Power.

The 23d of *October*, 1641, (as you may remember) I was living at *Donsoghby* within Four Miles of *Dublin*; and upon the general Terror which was in the Country, when all *English* and *Protestants* forsook their *Habitations* and fled from the Face of that horrid Rebellion, I thought it not safe to remain alone behind them; but when, in the Evening of the next Day, I had scattered a Party of Rogues that lay lurking about my House, I retired with you and my Family the same Night to *Dublin*. The Day following the Lords Justices and Council sent for me before them, and after some Debate of the Condition of the Time, and the quickest Way to prevent the growing Danger, it was concluded by the Board, that I should forthwith raise a Regiment of One Thousand Soldiers, and march with all Expedition unto *Drogheda*; daily News of Danger and eminent Peril arriving from thence, with the suspected Faith of the Inhabitants. *October* 26, early in the Morning, I began my Levy, and using great Diligence, with continual Pains and Travel, I completed, armed, and led my Regiment to *Drogheda* within the Space of Nine Days, where I entered very seasonably the Fourth of *November*.

At *Drogheda* I met many strange Reports of the Rebels Number and Advance, and these Reports were daily strengthened with false Intelligence by some that were employ'd in the Service, being in Truth no other than Rebels in their Hearts and Affections, as afterward plainly appear'd by their flying from our Party and hiding with the Rebels: Others that were new come, and Strangers in these Parts, though trusty, could make no full Discovery of the Rebels Strength, Approach or Intention. Twice upon Intelligence I sent and went forth with a convenient Party to fall on a Quarter of the Rebels, but found my self deceived; and to have left the Town with the whole Forces (as I conceive was the Aim of my Intelligencers) had been in a sort to put it into the Rebels Hands, the malignant Party being strong and powerful in it, and discovering themselves and their ill Intentions daily more and more; which

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when I had advertised to *Dublin*, the Lords Justices appointed Six Hundred new levied Men to come from thence, who setting forth about the same time when the *Northern* Rebels drew near unto *Drogheda*, through some Misfortune on the Way, though they had seasonable Notice to prevent it, yet were they met with by the Rebels, totally routed, and most of them lost.

This Disaster befalling us, the Rebels believed themselves Masters of the whole Country, and our Bosom Enemies did no longer disguise themselves, for the whole Pale that seemed to waver, and in a sort to detest the Rebellion, declared for them, and immediately joyned with the *Northern* Rebels; whereupon ensued the Siege of *Drogheda*, which had not continued long, when I viewing the Provision of Victual and the Grain within the Walls, I easily observed that in a short time we should be distressed for want of Provisions; and perceiving there was a pretty Quantity of Corn in Stack at *Greenhills*, about half a Mile without the East-Gate, and that the Rebels were quartered a Mile from it; on a Morning betimes I caused Carriages to be prepared, drew the whole Garrison into Arms, and disposing Two Hundred Foot and a Troop of Horse unto the Conduct of Serjeant-Major *Lovell*, with Instruction to issue forth at one Gate, I took the like Number of Horse and Foot, and went suddenly forth at the Gate that led directly unto the Place; and before I was advanced little above half way I met an *Irish* Woman that lived without the Walls, who told me, that part of the *Irish* Army, at least Three Thousand, were marching toward me, a Thing I little credited, because I had sent forth Scouts and a Lieutenant of Foot with Thirty Musketeers to possess a Ground of Advantage before me. But I was little farther advanc'd when the Scouts return'd full of Fear, and the Lieutenant with his Musketeers in great Amazement, blowing, sweating, and imprudently, before he came close unto me, declared in the Audience of all the Soldiers, that there were at least Four Thousand of the Enemy hard at Hand, and that we were in danger to be enclosed of them coming several Ways. "Nothing is more dangerous than Reports of this Nature, in the Hearing of the Soldiers, which of what Condition soever, should always be privately delivered to the Commander. And thus far I did experiment it at this Time, that the Lieutenant's timorous Report drove some, both Horse and Foot, to forsake me, and seek their Safety within the Walls, and had almost wrought a general Terror. But I told them, considering the Ground, we were strong enough to oppose Ten Thousand; and that they ought not to be dismay'd, for the Lieutenant surpriz'd with Fear, had augmented the Enemies Number, and blinded him so much, that he could

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not distinguish between the Enemy and our own Forces, those being no other than our own whom he saw coming behind us another Way, and were appointed by me to be our Seconds. With much ado this Periwasion re-assur'd the Soldiers, and caused them to stand, and for the more Safety I sent into the Town for some Troops I had left in Arms on the Market Place: But before the Soldiers were confirm'd, and fully prepar'd to oppose the Rebels, they came upon us with a great Shout, and gave Fire: At the second Firing our Men answered them in the like kind; and in the midst of the Smoak I call'd out aloud, They run, they run; which took the desired Effect, was believed by those in the Rear, and seconded by them all with the like Cry: And though it appeared something otherwise upon the clearing up of the Smoak, and after a Charge, that the Rebels gave thick Fire out of an Ambush, yet our Musketeers on the higher Bank set bravely forward, when they saw me alighted from my Horse to partake in such Adventure as should befall them; and the Rebels, who were staggered with the former Cry, betook themselves to their Heels in general. Our Men had the Execution of them about Three Quarters of a Mile, the rest of their Army looking on us at a Distance, as they were drawing together to make Resistance: And when I perceived all the Rebels in Arms, I retreated in an orderly way, and saw all the Soldiers in Safety within the Gates before me. Of the Rebels there were about Two Hundred slain, a Priest and Three Captains, and one of the *O'neals* that was Serjeant-Major General of their *Northern Army*: Of our Men Four only hurt, and Two Horses shot in this Service; for God fought for us, and from this time forth so dismayed the Rebels, that afterwards they never stood before us.

On *St. Thomas's Eve*, at One of the Clock at Night, the Rebels came to assault the Town, and fell on with a great Shout; but we were prepar'd for them, and gave them such Entertainment as belonged to unwelcome Guests, whereby they lost many, and toward the Morning withdrew to their Quarters. On *New-year's Day*, early in the Morning, I sent forth a Party which kill'd some of the Rebels, burnt their Quarter, and retreated with the Loss of but one Man.

The 7th of *January*, a little before Day, I drew forth three Troops, consisting of Eighty good Horse, or thereabouts, with Three Hundred choice Foot, in two Bodies, and a Porlorn of Fifty Musketeers, to fall on the Rebels Quarter at *Ramallan* without *St. John's Port*; where, after a little Resistance, their Barriadoes and Breast-works were forced, their Quarter enter'd, an Hundred of them at the least slain upon the Place, many driven by Heaps into the River and drowned, and amongst those one *Art Roe Mac Mabon*, a prime Man, and much lamented by them;

them: And whilst we were in pursuit, and firing the Quarter, a full Body of the Rebels (the Day being now broken) appeared from *Plattin* and other Places, marching towards us; these I thought fit to meet and charge with my Reserve, whilst the Soldiers were drawing off, and retiring from the former Chace, and by God's singular Blessing (to whose glorious Working all these Actions are to be wholly ascribed) we suddenly routed them, and kill'd above Forty on the Place, not adventuring to pursue them far, because the Rebels were numerous, and gotten into Arms throughout all their Quarters. The Soldiers brought off many Muskets and Corsets, a few Cows, and some other Plunder.

The Rebels failing of other Hopes, labour'd to stop the Channel, and hinder our Relief by Water; but God disappointed them, and opened the Way unto us, for the 11th of *January* our Shipping came from the *Skerrys* in one Tide to the Key; a rare Matter, and hardly known in the Memory of Man. That Night I exhorted the Officers to be very vigilant on their Guards, because the Rebels might conceive us joyful and secure upon our received Relief; and I could not go that Night abroad according to my Custom, in regard I had several Dispatches to make to *Dublin*; and the Shipping were the next Day to return in Case the Wind favour'd them, which I would in no sort be a Hindrance unto. How my Orders were observed or neglected I will not mention, but about Four of the Clock the next Morning, as I was busily Writing, I heard Three Muskets go off, and soon after Two others; and, as I apprehended, (notwithstanding the stormy Weather) a kind of muttering Noise; whereupon I started from the Table, snatch'd up my Pistols, and call'd to those about me to follow me with Speed, for I believ'd that the Rebels were gotten into the Town: And coming forth of Doors, I called unto a Court of Guard that was on the Town Wall near my Lodging, and willed them to encrease the Alarm, and give Fire athwart the River, because I believed the Rebels to be enter'd on that side the Key; and then running with all Speed towards the Bridge, when I was about half way, the Rebels gave a great Shout. At the Foot of the Bridge I found a Guard of my own Company settling themselves to their Arms; those I drew forth, and placed to maintain the Bridge until I should instantly return unto them: And then making Haste to the Main Guard, I found not here that Vigilancy I expected; but encreasing the Alarm, with such small Strength as I could suddenly gather, I returned, and found my Enemy newly engag'd with the Rebels at the End of the Bridge, him I rescued, and God prospered us so well, with the Concourse of Officers and Soldiers, that finally we scattered them, and had the winning of many, and took above Fifty Prisoners. God's Workings are wonderful, and often-

oftentimes, especially in Matters of War, produces great Effects out of small and contemptible Means: This Night my Man following of me hastily with my Horse out of my Lodging, the Horse being unruly at the best, suddenly broke loose, and made such a Noise in running and galloping madly upon the Stones in the dark Streets, it put the Rebels to a Stand, believing we were better prepar'd to welcome them than in Truth we were, and thereby afforded us something the more Leisure to entertain them, as by God's Blessing we did.

The 7th of February I made a Sally on the North-side of the Town, fir'd two or three of their Lodgings, and recovered a little Forage and Provision to Refresh us a few Days: The Rebels drew forth from *Bewly* their Head Quarters, with a Body of Five Hundred or thereabouts, but upon my Advance with the like number, and Skirmishing with them in their Fastness, they retreated with a little Loss, which greatly embolden'd our Soldiers for future Services, who received no Loss at all. That Night I sent forth a Party of Musketeers to fall on a Court of Guard of the Rebels, which they affected with the Slaughter of the Centinels and some others. February the 11th in the Afternoon, upon Intelligence that the Rebels had removed from one of their Quarters, and left it void for the Lodging of others that were to Arrive that Day out of the North, I thought it a fit Opportunity to issue suddenly out of the Town, with intent to recover part of their Provisions, and to fire the rest, that could not be brought away, together with their Quarter; and to that end I drew forth a Party of Five Hundred to Confront the Rebels Head Quarter at *Bewly*, and sent Lieutenant *Greenham*, a Resolute Commander, with Sixty Musketeers, and Thirty Horse under the Conduct of Cornet *Constable*, to Guard those that were directed to Spoil the Quarter; who coming thither, and finding the Place empty, some of the Foot, at least Twenty, with part of the Horse, lading themselves with Sheaves of Corn, and such other Things as they met with, returned homewards; when suddenly there appeared before the Remainder of the Horse and Foot, a Body of Four Hundred Rebels, come forth of the North to possess that Quarter; whereupon they retreated a little, and drew themselves into good Order. About that Instant I had with Seven or Eight Horse in my Company left the Body of Five Hundred confronting *Bewly*, and being on my way towards them, I receiv'd the News of the Rebels Approach: Forthwith I sent Direction for One Hundred and Fifty Soldiers to be drawn quietly out of the Body, and to follow me. The Advertisement of this being deliver'd to Lieutenant *Greenham*, with my Approach, I being then come in Sight of him, caused him without Delay to fall on the Rebels; and I commanded Cornet *Constable* to do the like with the Horse,

Horse, keeping by me a Reserve of Ten Horse to second him, if Occasion were: For Things being come to that Pinch, admitted no Debate, but a speedy Hazard. The Rebels terrified and amaz'd with this sudden and unexpected Assault, were soon routed by this Party alone, before the others I had appointed for their Assistance were come up to them. There were slain of the Rebels Seventy Three, with Captain *Owen*, a Follower of the Earl of *Tyrone* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, a Lieutenant and an Ensign. There were taken Two Colours, One Ensign, Three Serjeants, Nine Prisoners. One of them that appeared a Man of Note, died the same Night of his Wounds.

Two Days after (for now we were ever in Action) upon Notice of a Prey that might with some Hazard be probably gained, I sent forth Captain *Patrick Trevor* on Sunday Morning, a little before Day, and march'd after him my self with another Party, to relieve and bring him off as Occasion should serve. He behaved himself so well, that he took the Prey of Eighty Cows and about Two Hundred Sheep; and though the Rebels on both Hands bestowed many Shot and Shouts upon us, yet we receiv'd no Loss or considerable Hurt, but came in Time to serve and praise God in the Congregation that Morning.

On Sunday the 21st of February, about Four of the Clock in the Morning, Sir *Phelim O'neal* attempted the Town with Scaling Ladders, and had rais'd several against the Wall with much Silence, hoping to make his Entry on the back of my Lodging, where the Wall was lowest: But the Centinel discerning One of them mounted on the Top of the Ladder, ready to surprize him, knockt him down with the But-end of his Musket, and called out to the Court of Guard, who issuing suddenly forth, easily repell'd the rest, insomuch that they left Thirteen of their Scaling Ladders behind them, and being well ply'd with Shot from the Walls, divers were hurt and slain, as a Boy reported who was Drummer to Sir *Phelim O'neal*, and had made his Escape from him that Morning. About Noon the same Day, we receiv'd another Relief of Men and Victuals, that arriv'd wonderfully in one Tide, as the former had done, by God's singular Providence.

The 27th of February, desirous to repair a small Loss I had receiv'd of Boys and Women that went a Foraging to *Bewbeek*, I issued forth to the same Place with Two new Companies lately come from *Dublin*, Fifty Musketeers of the old Garrison, and One Hundred and Twenty Horse in Four Troops; and possess'd the same Ground where the Party stood that I had sent forth Eight Days before, for the Guard of the Foragers: And after I had directed the Foragers that went with me, how to demean themselves on the Rebels Approach, and appointed the Pioneers to bury the Dead,

Dead, I spent much of the Day there before the Corn was brought quite away into the Town. The Rebels drew forth into a Body of Five or Six Hundred, under Five Colours, right against me, at a pretty Distance; and another Body of Two or Three Hundred on my Right Hand, keeping the same Distance: Whose Motion, when I had long attended in vain, and the Evening growing fast, I turned on my Left Hand towards the Way that led to *Dublin*, where the Rebels held an usual Guard, and which I intended to visit; but my Scouts were sent forth on all Sides to observe the Rebels Motion. I had not march'd much more than a Musket Shot when my Scouts came posting in, and assur'd me, that the Rebels were advancing toward me in great Haste, and that there was but the Ridge of an Hill between them and us: I presently order'd my Men, as I conceived, for the best Advantage; sent immediately into the Town for Seconds, if Need should require; and because most of my Foot were New-comers, I told them briefly as the shortness of the Time would give me Leave, that I was glad of this Occasion, wherein they that were lately come should have the Experience of such Adventures, as we who were formerly here had often tried, and, by God's continual blessing us, beaten the Rebels on greater Disadvantages than now appeared. I besought them only to be courageous; for if there were a fainting among them, I would rather endeavour (and I doubted not to do it) to draw them from the Tryal in Safety, than expose them to imminent Danger. The Soldiers gave a cheerful Answer of Resolution and Readiness to meet the Rebels, and march'd fiercely towards them; which taken Notice of by the Rebels, by such time as we were gotten to the Ridge of the Hill, they were sunk down again almost to the Foot of it, where were many Rows of great Furze fit to cover an Ambush, and at first I apprehended that might be their Purpose of Retreat, to draw me into unexpected Danger: But when I had beheld them a little while, and observed their Motion, and discerned them in some Disorder, and that their Officers were beating them with their Swords to force them forwards; I found the Time fit for my Purpose, and called to hasten the Charge, for the Rebels were dismay'd and running before we came at them: And to make my Words good, they made few Shot before they totally disbanded, and every Man shifted for himself. I caused a Party of Horse to meet them at the Bridge of *Gillianstown*, near the Place where our Six Hundred Men, sent at first to assist us, were unhappily defeated; and there, in the same Field and about it, Three Hundred and upward of the Rebels were slain, and Two Colours taken.

The First of March I sent forth Sir *John Borlace* with Four Companies of Foot and One Troop of Horse, to Forage the South-side of the River

River towards *Colpe*, from whence a good Quantity of Corn was brought into the Garrison: And in the Afternoon I took Two other Companies of Foot and a Troop of Horse, accompany'd with the Lord *Moor*; and as we were advancing something farther toward the *Inche*, there came a Messenger hastily unto me, and told me, that Sir *John Borlace* met with some Resistance at *Colpe*, at an old Tower which he attempted to take; and that many of the Rebels were come from the North-side of the River in a Ferry-Boat, and enter'd into *Stamine*, whereby it was suppos'd they would attempt something against those that were before *Colpe*. On this Advertisement my Lord *Moor* and my self returned, and finding no Appearance of the Rebels Intention to do any thing, the Evening being come on, I prepared to march home: And leaving the Lord *Moor*, I went towards Sir *John Borlace* before *Colpe*, where by the Way I was advertis'd that the Rebels were rally'd out of *Stamine* with Two Hundred Foot, to surprize those before *Colpe*; I instantly directed Captain *Billingly* to take Eighty Musketeers, and fall up to the Side of the Way, where there was the Advantage of a Ditch; and with such Horse as were with me I made directly to an opener Place, though somewhat about; and by that time I came in Sight of the Rebels, Captain *Billingly* and they were exchanging some Shot; but upon the Approach of the Horse coming on with a round Charge, the Rebels fled again into *Stamine*, and by the Way there was slain of them a Lieutenant, Thirteen Soldiers, and a Captain of the *Oneals* wounded and taken Prisoner; and if my Horse had not been Bog'd with some others, being ignorant of the Ways, I believe many more had been slain, and the Place taken the same Night, with many of their Commanders in it, who stole away before the next Morning to the other side of the River with Sir *Phelim Oneal*, who during the Conflict was fled, crept, and hid in a Furze-bush, as I was afterwards inform'd: And thus the South-side of the River was wholly clear'd of the Rebels, and Plenty of Corn and Food began to be amongst us.

The several happy Successes against the Rebels stirred the Lord *Moor* and other Officers of Quality, to crave that they might have competent Forces assign'd them to fall on the Rebels Quarter at *Tullahallen*; which I readily assented to, and caused Four Hundred Foot and most of the Horse, to be in a Readiness to issue forth under the Lord *Moor*'s Command: Which was no sooner done, but that I immediately caused Three Hundred Foot and Fifteen Horse remaining behind, to march forth under my own Leading after them; for I consider'd that the Rebels Head Quarter was at *Bewly*, that they had another Quarter at *Carstown* and *Carlington*; all which might with Convenience fall in the Rear of the

Lord Moor, and give Assistance to their Partners at *Tullaghan*. And as I supposed, by that time I was come near unto *Killinure*, I could discern the Rebels all upon their March; but they perceiving my Strength, which were so placed, that at a Distance they appear'd double the number, stood still at a Gaze, and went no farther: Until within a short time News came to me of the prosperous Success of the Lord Moor, who with the other Officers behaved themselves with such Valour and Courage, that they forc'd the Rebels from a Place of Advantage which they had betaken themselves unto, and kill'd Four Hundred upon the Place, with Seven Captains, and *Art Roe Mac Mahon* taken Prisoner, whose Head was valued in the Proclamation to the Taker or Bringer in of him, at Four Hundred Pound; and several others comprehended in the Proclamation, were slain or taken by us without Note or Recompence. I finding the Work done without need of my Assistance, turn'd my self with the Party that I led, towards those Rebels that shew'd themselves imbody'd at a distance, but I found they had no mind to engage; whereupon I burnt *Newtown* and other of their Lodgings, and so returned into the Town.

The Evening after this Days Glorious Work wherein God, as in former Times, sent us great Deliverance, the Rebels abandoned their Head Quarter at *Bewly*, and the Villages adjoining unto it, and march'd secretly away to *Dundalk*, whereof I had speedy Notice, and sent forth a Party the same Night to possess *Bewly*, and to remain in Garrison in it, thereby preventing the Rebels, who repenting of their sudden Departure, within less than an Hour after my Men were enter'd, returned thither to Repossess the Place; but finding unexpected Opposition, forsook the Attempt with the loss of two of their Men. The next Morning I rounded the Country two or three Miles about, saw many Rebels on Hills and Places afar off, but as I made towards them they always avoided me. The Country was left full of Corn, and stored with Cattle, which afforded us Plentiful Relief. A few Days after I summoned *Phatten*, a strong Castle Garrisoned by the Rebels, within two Miles of *Drogheda*, but was not listened unto: Yet three Days after I returned thither stronger and better prepared to force them, than I was at the first; and finally, I receiv'd it on Composition, that the Garrison should depart unarmed, and carry away some few Goods and Provisions with them. Before the Surrender of this Place the Marquis of *Ormond* was march'd forth of *Dublin* to come to our Relief, and though he were advertised by the way of Gods Blessings upon us, yet he came forwards to Rejoyce with us in our Deliverance, and to see the State of Affairs among us, with Intention to Prosecute the *Irish* Rebels until they were utterly Destroy'd. But the State concerning it

it too Hazardous, withcalled him from the Enterprize, and sent me likewise Direction to Adventure no farther Abroad than so as I might return the same Day, and Lodge in Safety within the Walls. My Lord returned as he was required, and I by my Letters besought the Council to withdraw their strict Limitation, in Case they expected Action from me, and conceived me Capable after so many Trials and Hazards to do them Service. Upon this I was left again to my own way of Proceeding, with a Grave and Sound Advice to be Vigilant and Careful in all my Undertakings. The Day following, early in the Morning, I march'd forth, accompany'd with the Lord Moor, and a competent Strength of Horse and Foot, unto *Barnwell's* of *Rahaskers* House, and found him not Dress'd, misdoubting no Visitation of that kind: A little Resistance I found, but after a while he was contented to Surrender, on Promise that he might be a Prisoner left unto the Law, and not presently put to Death; for this *Barnwell* had Served beyond Seas, was a Colonel amongst the Rebels, and on whose Head was set Four Hundred Pound as a Recompence for any that brought him in Dead or Alive. That Day, as I returned, I burnt some Villages, took a large Prey in Cattle and Sheep, to the great Satisfaction of the Soldiers, who now fed Plentifully after their long Penury and Want.

At this time there was a great Rumour that the Rebels would return to the Siege of *Drogheda*, and that *O Reily* with his *Cavan* Forces, consisting of Two Thousand Men, were that Night to be Lodged at *Slane* within five Miles of us. This Intelligence was delivered me about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, and whether framed by the Rebels to terrify me, or really believed by the Reporter, I know not; but I, that I might not lose the Advantage of Time, caused Five Hundred Foot, with all the Horse, to be instantly in Arms, and accompany'd with the Lord Moor, I march'd unto the Place, enter'd the Town, took the Castle, which the Soldiers Pillaged, and Fired the Houses, that it might remain no future Shelter for the Rebels. Three Days after, being still Alarm'd with the Rebels Forces, which were sam'd to be many, and Lodged at *Atherdee*, Eight Miles from *Drogheda*, and I, being desirous to understand the certainty of their Strength and Condition, which in regard of the Infidelity of divers Natives which I employed for Intelligence (wanting better) I could not readily obtain, I drew forth Twelve Hundred Foot and four Troops of Horse, intending to discover it my self; and the 21st of *March*, with two Days Provision of Victual, meaning within that space to return, I marched to *Slane*, and reduced that Castle, which the Rebels had again Repossess'd, and did some other things there which were formerly left imperfect. The same Night I went two or three Miles farther to

lodge

lodge in a place of some Strength four or five Miles sideways from *Atherdee*. The Rebels appeared in Clusters on several Hills about me, but their Footmanship or Vigilance failed them, for the Horse I sent forth surprized and overtook many of them, putting them to the Sword before they could recover a place of Safety.

The next Morning I set forward on my first Design, with Intention only to discover the Enemies Strength, and not to advance my Body of Foot nearer than within Two Miles of *Atherdee*, that I might secure my Forces upon the Passes, and other Places of Advantage, in case I found the Rebels, as was reported (though I could hardly believe it) much too strong to be dealt with: But my Scouts gone forth, and also a Party of Horse with Thirty Musketeers to secure a Pass; after a March of Two Miles they discover'd the Rebels from the Top of a steep Hill, in Two Divisions, in the Valley beneath, consisting, as they supposed, of Two Thousand Five Hundred Foot, and a Body of Horse near unto them. Upon this Advertisement I order'd One Hundred and Twenty choice Musketeers to be drawn forth, and to follow me with Speed, and joya with the Thirty Musketeers which were before them; and that the rest of the Foot should advance after them a moderate Pace. I took all the Horse with me, and went to the Top of an Hill where I had a full Sight of the Rebels, whose Foot were not less than Two Thousand, as was afterwards confest by some of themselves. Their Horse appear'd in Sight to be fewer than ours, tho there was present Sir *Phelim O'neal*, the Lord of *Louth*, and divers of the Nobility and prime Gentry of the *Pale*, with many chief Commanders of the *Northern* Rebels. I consider'd their Number and Order, and apprehending a fair Possibility of routing them, commanded the Horse to follow me down the Hill. The Officers at first conceived some Danger in it, but when I shew'd them it was observable that the Rebels were Irresolute in their Purposes, and that upon the Sight of us they had not advanced one Foot forward, tho in Regard of the Ground before us, they might have done it with Advantage to themselves, in case that they had resolv'd meaning to engage us; and that when we were down the Hill we could not be prejudiced by them, except by some Shot at Random; and if the Rebels should retire, we had fit Ground and Opportunity to charge them; if they abode, I doubted not by God's Assistance to do it with Safety when the Foot were come up to us. Hereupon we went down the Hill, and by this time the One Hundred and Fifty Musketeers I had order'd to follow me a swift Pace, were come up to me; I took of them a small Party, and caused them to give Fire upon a Hedge and Ditch that was near a Musket Shot right before one of the Rebels Divisions of Foot, mistrusting some Ambush, which upon

upon the Fire given immediately discovered it self; and began to retire; whereupon I perceived their Divisions to waver, and incline towards a Retreat; and being loth to lose the Opportunity, I caused my other Musketeers to advance and the Horse to offer a Charge; which their Horse intending not to abide, gain'd their Security by speedy Flight, and their Foot with little Dispute followed after them. Their Horse abandon'd the Field the sooner, because they could discern that I had sent forth a Party of Horse towards the other End of the Town to intercept their Flight, the thing it seems they chiefly intended, in case they met with any Opposition. There were slain of their Foot several Officers of Note, and at least Six Hundred private Soldiers.

In Prosecution of this Victory which God had given us, I found a Stop at the Gate, which the Rebels had closed at the End of the Bridge leading into the Town, and from thence plyed us with some Shot; but as soon as I had drawn a Party of Musketeers to play upon them, I found their Shooting abated in so much that I adventured over the Bridge to the Gate, and through the Chinks I saw it was barricaded with Stones; but upon the Right Hand of the Bridge I perceived a Ford, which I return'd unto, and ordering the Horse to follow me, I enter'd, and charged through the Town, where, at the End without the Gate, the Enemies Horse appeared to us again, standing in good Order, and, as we conceived, near unto us; but upon the Matter, through the Advantage of a Bog, they were at least half a Mile from us; neither intended they a nearer Distance, for being most of them Men of Quality, and all well mounted, they betook themselves immediately to their Speed, and were pursued by Captain Marrow above Three Miles in vain. Some Stragglers were snatch'd up, and between Sixty and Seventy slain on the Bog on the other Side of the Town; and many others had run the same Fortune, but that most of my Foot were busie in pillaging the Town, and could not be gotten together in convenient Time to prosecute the Service.

At *Acherdee* I rested the next Day, being the 24th of *March*, and rode only with a Party of Horse Three or Four Miles farther into the Country; and had a Sight of many Rebels afar off, but met with no Opposition from any of them.

That Evening I moved the Lord *Moor* and other chief Officers to give me their Advice touching a Desire I had of prosecuting this Victory. God had given us, as far as *Dundalk*; for it was evident that the Rebels were terrified and amazed through this sudden and unexpected Overthrow befallen them, and to follow them close would deprive them of present Counsel and Assurance in the way of Defence. The Lord *Moor*

and

and all the Officers embraced the Motion with much Cheerfulness, and so the next Morning, being *Friday*, I marched unto *Hagardstown*, a Village strongly seated within Two little Miles of *Dundalk*, and lodged there that Night.

The next Morning we set forwards towards *Dundalk*, and *Sir Phelim Oneal* with his Horse, shewed himself without the Gate that was next unto us; and I supposed he would likewise have drawn forth his Foot, to meet us in the Field, because he could have trebled the Strength that was with me: But upon my nearer Approach, *Sir Phelim* perceiving I would not forsake my Advantage through Fear of the Number that were with him, he retired within the Gates, and there attended my coming, giving Fire from the Walls, which continued thick for a while; until the Valour of the Officers and Soldiers brought them under the Walls of the Suburbs, where in short Time they forced open the Gate, and enter'd both Horse and Foot: But the Rebels that had before shewed great Stands of Pikes, were almost wholly retired into the Inner Town, and left a Castle well Mann'd in the midst of the Suburbs, which Castle did much annoy us; and it was the Opinion of many, that we had proceeded already beyond Expectation, and that we might with Honour forsake the Enterprize. But my Desire was otherwise, the rather, because it pleased God to send a sudden strong and favourable Wind, which, when I had fired the Suburbs, drove the Smoak violently into the Town, greatly annoying the Rebels and furthering my Design, insomuch that under Coverture of the Smoak I made Use of my Pioneers with less Danger, and by Degrees got close under the Castle, and heaped up much combustible Stuff against the Door and fired it; which caused the Defendants to abandon their Arms, and shift for themselves, but little to the Safety of the most of them. In the Castle I placed some Musketeers to give Fire on the Enemy in the Market-place; and the Smoak of the Suburbs abating, I could see many Rebels, for my greater Encouragement, running forth at the North-side of the Town; whereupon I sent Captain *Marrow* with a Party of Horse towards that Place, and followed after him my self with a few Horse, leaving Direction with Lieutenant Colonel *Biron* to do the like with my Division of Foot. When I came to the Side, I might see *Sir Phelim Oneal* with his Crue on Horseback, on the Top of an Hill on the other Side the River, too far to be dealt withal; therefore I willed Lieutenant Colonel *Biron* to fall on that Part of the Town where the Wall was low and decay'd, and had little other Defence than a Graff with Water not impassable; but on the sudden I could hear one calling behind me, that *Marrow* was charged by One Hundred and Twenty Horse, and distress: Whereupon I caused the Foot to

to make a Stand, and returned to the Relief of *Marrow*, whom I met soon after coming from the Chace of the Rebels, having met with no Opposition. This false Alarm being over, I pursued my former Purpose, and willed the Foot to proceed; and taking Captain *Marrow* and chose Horse with me, I passed suddenly to the *North-gate*, at which the Rebels run out: The Gate I found open, and many unarm'd People hastening forth: Those we went regardlessly through, and made up to the Market-place, where I found no Resistance, every one having shifted for himself; only the Musketeers which I placed in the Castle in the Suburbs did a little annoy us, mistaking us for the Enemy, until I made them understand the contrary by Signs; and also sending unto the Lord *Moor* and the other Officers, that I was enter'd and possels'd of the Town.

Afterward I commanded all the Horse and Foot to March in, and draw up in Order in the Market-place, and I caused the Quarter-Masters to Divide the Town into Quarters, proportionable to the Companies of Horse and Foot; and what Booty was in any Quarter, that I left to the Officers and Soldiers that were Quartered in it, by a proportionable Dividend amongst them, whereby the Confusion and Contention about Pillaging was taken away, and I had the Soldiers in a readiness to Answer the Rebels Motion and Attempts, who Rumored great Words, and still swarmed very thick in those Parts: The number of the Slain I looked not after, but there was little Mercy shewed in those Times.

When the News of this Success came to *Dublin*, the State apprehended that I was engaged into too imminent Danger, and partly sent me Advice to Abandon the Place, which Town being of Importance for the Service, I neither thought it fit nor honourable to do, except I received a positive Command and Direction to that Purpose; for I was Confident to hold it against all the Rebels Forces that durst appear before it: Besides, I conceived the Ten Thousand *Scots* would not be Idle when they should hear that I was advanced so far *North-ward*, with an Handfull of Men in Comparison of their Numbers. The Rebels were soon grown Numerous again by the Access of some *Northern* Forces to their Aid, and lodged in a strong Castle towards the *Fews* about four Miles from *Dundalk*; there I faced them several Days, but they never Adventured beyond their Fastness more than once, and that a little way with a Party of Horse, which I caused to be soon met with (by God's continual Blessing) to their Disadvantage, and killing a few, (for they had a Bog to Friend) took *Jaby Quinn*, a special Favourite of Sir *Phelim O'neal*, Prisoner: This Man had been bred amongst us, and Married to an *English* Man's Daughter, but now a Degenerated, Active, and Notorious Rebel: in which Respect, notwithstanding many Promises of large Ransom or Exchanges,

Exchanges, I caused him to be presently hanged in the Sight of Sir *Phelim O'neal* and his Battalions.

About this Time I had News of the *Scots* coming towards the *Newry*; and the next Day I drew my Foot upon the Strand towards *Carlingford*; that the Rebels Scouts might discern them Marching, though I had no Intention to leave *Dundalk* Naked, in the View of Sir *Phelim O'neal* and his Rebel Companions on the other side: But taking the Horse with me, and giving order to the Foot to Return, as soon as I was out of sight, I went straight to *Carlingford*, with Intention to Summon the Place, which I believed upon their Scouts Report of my Foot following after me, would occasion them to Surrender on easy Conditions; but it appeared their Terror was too great to abide our coming, for drawing near, I saw the Town on Fire, and hastning thither a Party of my Horse, they overtook a Sea Captain and some of his Men in the Street running into the Castle, believing us to be of the Rebels, which when they found otherwise, it was much to their Contentment. From this Captain I understood, that lying with his Ship in the Harbour to attend the *Scots* Motion with Necessaries, that that Morning the Town and Castle were hastily Fired by the Inhabitants themselves, and they all Fled into the Mountains; and that an *English* Woman or Two that had escaped the general Slaughter, were gotten into the Castle, had hinder'd the Fire in what they could, and waisted him thither, where he came and found the State of Things to be as I then found them. I with'd him to make the best Advantage of what the Rebels had left behind, and to secure the Castle with a Guard until I could send a Captain of Foot to take it into his Charge, having no other than Horse with me at that Time. This he undertook to do, and performed it accordingly.

Upon my Return the same Night, I receiv'd a Letter from the Lord *Conway*, inviting me to visit him and Major-General *Monroe* at the *Newry*, that we might advise of a farther Prosecution of the Rebels. The Day following I went thither with Two Troops of Horse and a Troop of Dragoons; and upon Conference I conceived their Intention and Resolution was, at my parting, to march unto *Ardmagh*, to chase the Rebels out of all their Fastnesses, and to clear the *North*: But a few Days after I receiv'd another Letter from the Lord *Conway*, that they had deserted that Design for the present, and were returning back again, in respect their Victuals was spent unto Five Days.

A while afterwards the *Scots* were earnest with me to deliver the Castle of *Carlingford* into their Hands; which had been a great Weakness in me to do, as it was Presumption in them to desire, without the Direction of the State.

Sir

in Sir Phelim O'neal and his Partisans grew very jolly upon the Scots Return, and perswaded themselves of doing great Matters against me: But their Courage proved to be only in Words, for I drew forth some Days together into a convenient Field near unto them; but finding that they did only put themselves in Arms, and would no more now than formerly forsake their Strength to draw into Equality of Ground, notwithstanding their Advantage of Numbers, I concluded they were in another sort to be dealt with and from thenceforth, for the most part, I fell every other Morning into their Quarters, and continued these Visitations for several Weeks together, with the Slaughter of very many of them, especially the new Plantation in the County of Monaghan, and at the taking in of Harry O'neal's House in the Fews; insomuch that by this Course, and the like acted often by the Garrison at Drogheda, there was neither Manner nor Beast to be found in Sixteen Miles between the two Towns of Drogheda and Dundalk; nor on the other side of Dundalk, in the County of Monaghan, nearer than Carrick-mac-Cross, a strong Pile Twelve Miles distant.

And notwithstanding this continual Travel abroad, I went forwards at home with the Help of the Officers and Soldiers (wherein they cheerfully concurred with me) to raise a Parapet on one Side of the Town of Dundalk (that was naked of other Defence than a large Grass with Water) and to repair the Walls on the other Side that were greatly broken: I likewise cut off part of the Town to make it more defensible with a large Ditch and Parapet; and made a Draw-Bridge, and raised Two Platforms to secure the Curtains with Three Pieces of Ordnance I had taken from the Rebels: And all this was done without a Penny Charge to the State, or any Allowance ever given me in Consideration of it. Besides, I laid in Sixty Tuns of Coals for the Courts of Guard against Winter, and gave such Cattle as were due to me for my Share, in Recompence of them: This was never by me accounted for. It may be farther remember'd, that for the space of Seven Months and upwards, from the beginning of the Siege of Drogheda, I never receiv'd but Five Weeks Means, all that were under my Command living on such Preys as were forced from the Rebels. The Country and Fields about Dundalk were abounding in Corn, which I allotted to the several Companies, to be reaped by themselves, towards their present Relief and future Subsistence.

About the midst of June I went to Dublin, and after a few Days stay I returned unto my Charge, prosecuting the Rebels as I had formerly done. In August I went again to Dublin, and staying a short Time there I came back to Drogheda, where I remained until the Lord Liffa went

forth with part of the Army, to remove the Rebels from about *Trim*; in which Expedition I waited on his Lordship with Five Hundred choice Foot. And that Service ended by the Rebels firing the Castle they possess, and retreating, and my Lord's taking of *Glowe* in the County of *Westmeath*, burning the House at *Lough Ramor* and *Virginia*; and taking of *Carrick-mac-Cross* in the County of *Monaghan*, with great Store of Prey, and Destruction of the Rebels.

His Lordship return'd, and I attended him unto *Drogheda*, where I remained as in my Place of Settlement; for about this time the Lord *Moor* receiv'd a Commission from his Majesty for the Command of the County of *Louth* and the Barony of *Slane*; whereupon I surrender'd the Garrison of *Dundalk*, as comprized in that Grant, with such Corn, Hay, and Cattle as was provided for my own spending, Eighty Barrels of Herring, Three Hundred Twenty Four Barrels of Corn, near Seventy Tuns of Coals in the Store for the Guards, the Works about the Town repair'd and fortify'd as aforesaid, without One Penny Charge to the State. And from that Time I applied my self to the Necessities of *Drogheda*, where the former Plenty being now consumed, and little Relief to be obtained from *Dublin*, I had many Wants to contend with, which I endeavour'd to remedy by drawing all the Cattle and Corn I could procure into the Store, and buying some with my ready Money. And all this while, and to the concluding of the Cessation, I never sold Cow or Barrel of Bread-Corn for my peculiar Use, but turned all to the Furtherance of the Publick. And of other Pillage I rarely receiv'd any; but left it for the most part entire to the Officers and Soldiers, who deserved greater Recompence, adventuring themselves with much Valour, Resolution and Patience in the daily Prosecution of the Service. Many of the Rebels were slain at several Times; but the most, and most remarkable during this Winter, was at the Mill of *Kells*, which they obstinately maintain'd.

In *March* the Marquis of *Ormond* led the Army, with the Flower of the Garrison of *Drogheda* and other adjacent Garrisons, towards *Ross*; and I receiving Intelligence that the Rebels intended to send of their Northern Forces, to assist their Party in those Quarters against the Marquis of *Ormond*, I mov'd the Lord *Moor* to draw the best Strength he could conveniently from *Dundalk*; and sending for those that might be spared from *Trim*, I met them at *Kells*, the appointed Rendezvous, with a Party from *Drogheda*, where we made in all Eleven Hundred Foot and One Hundred and Twenty Horse. At *Kells* we took a few Prisoners that were not aware of their Danger, and amongst them one *Plunket* a Popish Arch-Deacon. Part of their *Cavan* Forces were then near us, and

and sent a Drummer pretending to treat an Exchange or Ransom of the Arch-Deacon: The Drummer, as is the Custom of such Fellows, spake much of the Strength and Valour of the *Cavan* Men; and I, that I might make a little Use of his Errand, which was, as I conceived, rather (if he could) to discover our Strength and Intention, than to redeem the Prisoners, told him, that I thought to have gone through *Westmeath* toward the County of *Longford*: But since he spake so much of the Number and Courage of the *Cavan* Forces near me, I would turn my Course that Way, lest I might be dishonoured in seeming to decline them, for Fear of their Power and Ability to resist me. The Drummer appearing to be perplexed, because his Boasting was like to bring Inconvenience upon his Country, not formerly intended; wherefore I said farther (for I knew it would have Wings when it came amongst them) that I would at least (that I might not appear to be terrify'd) lodge that Night in the County of *Cavan*, it not being Two Miles out of my Way into the County of *Longford*. And after we were all in a Readiness to March I dismiss the Drummer, chearful in the Apprehension that he had discovered so much of my Purpose. That Night we went Eight Miles into the County of *Cavan*, saw many Rebels, but they knew their Distance; yet at *Lough Ramor*, in an Island, we lighted on the Earl of *Fingall's* Two Children, Thirty Case of new Pistols, with other Goods, that could not be suddenly taken away when he fled from thence.

That Night, about One of the Clock, the Moon shining, we set forth towards the *Cavan*, came thither seasonably the next Day, and unexpected, the Rebels being secure on their Drummer's Report that I intended another Way; the Town was soon abandoned, and every Man shifted for himself. The next Day the Rebels were gotten together, fought with us at *Ballyhays*: Afterward at a Bridge within Three Miles of *Belturbet*. We routed them at both Places in one Day, took Two Captains and several other Prisoners, besides many of their Soldiers and some remarkable Men slain by us. We freed divers *English* that were in Restraint among them, and kill'd a Rebel as he was firing a House, wherein there were Ten *English* shut up ready to be burnt. I staid Two Days entire in those Parts, burnt *Ballyhays*, the *Cavan*, and other Places, and then returned with a great Prey; which served much to the Relief of our several Garrisons, in those Days of exceeding Wants and great Extremities.

About the latter End of *April*, when I had prepared to fall into the County of *Longford*, I was fain to forsake that Design, and to repair to *Dublin*, whither I was called by his Majesty's Letter to be one of his

Justices; a Charge as far above my Expectation or Desire, as unsuitable to my Parts or Fortune: Yet there being a Necessity of my Obedience, I framed myself to the best of my Capacity to advance the Publick Service, and finding the Army in the highest Extremity of Want, all Ways and Means already sought and run through for their Support, even to the seizing the Native Commodities of the Kingdom; Hides, Tallow, and such like, taken from Shipboard after the Customs paid, and exposed to Sale, I was wonderfully perplexed, and Sir John Borlace, his Majesty's other Justice, and my self, with the Council, daily assembled: We spent the whole Time in sending Complaints into *England*, both to King and Parliament; in the mean Time borrowing, taking up, and engaging the whole Board for Money, and all sorts of Victual and Commodities convertible to the Soldiers Relief.

Amidst these Extremities his Majesty's Letters came over, signifying his Majesty's Sorrow, and Disability to relieve us, in regard of the Troubles in *England*. All Mens Eyes were on the Parliament, but no Succours in those Times arriving from thence to support the Forces, his Majesty permitted a Treaty to be had with the *Irish* touching a Cessation of Arms, in case all other Helps were failing: Which was generally so disagreeing to the Board, that most of them desired to run any Fortune and Extremity of Famishing, rather than yield unto it. And truly, I was so much of that Opinion, that when the Marquis of *Ormond* made offer that if he might be advanc'd 10000*l.* part Victuals, part Shoes and Stockings, and part Money, that he would immediately draw towards the Rebels, and either compel them to run the Hazard of the Field, or to forsake their Quarters, and leave them to the Spoil of our Soldiers, which might prove to them a future Subsistence. And when *Theodore Scout* and the rest of the Merchants of *Dublin* had refused to advance the Money upon the Security of all the Lands of the whole Board, and the Customs of *Dublin*, for the Interest of the Money; I moved the Board, there being at that Time One and Twenty Counsellors present, and my self of meanest Fortune among them, that every one for himself, out of his peculiar Means and Credit, would procure 300*l.* which amongst us all would raise 6300*l.* For even with that Sum, and such Means as the Marquis of *Ormond* should procure himself, he offer'd to undertake the Work, and that there should be no farther Mention of a Cessation amongst us. But this Motion of mine finding no Place, the Cessation in short time began to be treated on, and was in Sincerity of Heart as much hinder'd and delay'd by me, as was in my Power; for I believ'd it would be hurtful to the Publick, and therefore I cast in Rubs to lengthen the Treaty, expecting daily Relief and Money from *England*, whither

Sir

Sir Thomas Wharton was employ'd with the said Stories of the Publick Miseries. Thus was the Cessation laid aside for a while; which was afterwards renewed at Gigageen.

At that time Owen O'neal fell into our Quarters, and took several Captives, for want of competent Forces to oppose him. Whereupon, understanding that Monroe with a flourishing Army of Scots was in the County of Armagh, and in three Days March might be through in our Assistance; I mov'd the Board to write unto him, to offer him his Forces, and joyn with us against the Common Enemy. And because for the Message might be the better accepted, Colonel Crawford was employ'd unto him with the aforesaid Letter, and particular Advice and Perswasion from myself to hasten his coming. How Colonel Crawford acquitted himself in the Discharge of this Trust, will best appear by Monroe's Answer, who had formerly intimated unto the Lord Moor his voluntary Readiness to joyn with us; but now invited, and that by a Power whereunto he was subordinate, he refused to come, because the Marquis of Ormond had not sign'd the Letter sent unto him, though he could not but be informed from Colonel Crawford, that the Marquis of Ormond was absent upon the Treaty; and that the Letter could not in Convenience of Time be transmitted unto him, returned, and sent with Expectation of that speedy Remedy we were necessarily to reap by it.

Now this Hope failing, as a broken Reed not to be rely'd on, Colonel Monck was call'd from good Success in the County of Wicklow, to joyn with the Lord Moor for the Succour of Meath, where the Lord Moor was unhappily slain. Yet the Expectation of Victual and Relief from England stop't the hasty Progress of the Cessation, until the Evening, as I take it, of the 17th or 18th of September, a Fleet of Ships was discover'd near the Harbour, to the great Joy of all honest Hearts. But the next Morning one Captain Danske, that was come in with the Fleet of Provisions, and had landed the Night before, returned early on Ship-board; hoisted Sail; forsook the Harbour; and compell'd Seventeen Barks laden with Necessaries from Liverpool and other Places, to do the like. On what Ground or Intelligence he did it, is yet unknown; but this so rare and unlook'd for Accident amazed all Men, put the Soldiers into a Mutiny, and drew on a very unprofitable; and in my Apprehension, a very dishonourable Cessation to be concluded with the Rebels, with very much Dislike of most of those that were Actors in the Treaty.

Sir John Borlase and myself continued the Place of Justice until about Christmas following; and then by his Majesty's Direction deliver'd up the Sword to the Marquis of Ormond; and I retiring my self to my former Charge at Drogheda, labour'd to support that Garrison, that in due time

The History of the Siege of Drogheda

time do might be serviceable to the Crown of England. And when the Summer following the Scotch Forces advanced into *Westmouth*, return'd by our Quarters, and lodged at *Atherdee*, though they profess themselves opposite to our Party, and had proffer'd some Acts of Hostility, yet did I not forbid nor hinder Provision to be sent unto them, as some Sharlers at all my Actions have untruly suggested. But the Truth is, they abound in all Provisions, and stay at *Atherdee* but one Night, insomuch that the Drink and other Necessaries that several Persons of *Drogheda* had provided, could not come timely enough to them, as was desired.

About Eight or Ten Days after that the Scotch Army was return'd into the North, the Earl of *Castlehaven* and *Owen Roe O'neal*, with all the Irish Strength, came unto *Atherdee*, and remained in those Parts, as I remember, about Fourteen Days; and during the time of their Abode, they required the Benefit of the Market, for the buying of such Provisions as were needful for them, and that the Town and Garrison might spare. Which Demand agreeing with the Articles of Cessation, could not be in reason absolutely deny'd by me, except I would draw their united Forces on *Drogheda*, the Garrison being weak, and unable to oppose them. And this was a Thing that was propos'd amongst them by *Owen Roe O'neal*, as I was inform'd. However, I cast in many Rubs, and found several Ways to delay their Desire of Commerce, until at last the Earl of *Castlehaven* sent his Lieutenant General to understand the Reason of my Backwardness, and to expostulate the Matter with me at large: And then indeed I had Direction from *Dublin* to grant them their Desire; whereupon I sent for Mr. Alderman *Geves*, the present Major of the Town, and told him in the Presence of the Lieutenant General, that the Articles of the Cessation afforded free Traffick for either Party; and that a provident Care being in the first Place taken for the Necessities of the Town, the Benefit of the Market might be granted unto those that were without; and the Lieutenant General might appoint some one of the Inhabitants of the Town to buy such Provisions for the Use of the Irish Army, as could conveniently be spared. Whereupon he named one *Dando*, who came unto me to know whether he might with Safety, and without future Blame, be employ'd by them: And I told him, he might; for I was not willing that any of theirs should lodge in the Town, or frequent our Markets. The Provision that they had, was most Drink. Of 160 Barrels of Wheat bought for their Use, I caus'd the Moiety to be stop'd. Some Oatmeal they had, and course Bread of Beans and Pease was carried forth by private Persons to be sold unto them. The whole Quantities are enter'd in the Excise-Books of *Drogheda*, not amounting in all to the Value of 800 l. most of it being in Beer, and of

little

little Relief to the Irish Army, though much hath been spoken on this Subject to convince me, by foul Mouths and Persons of unsound Hearts, which hath caused me the rather thus far to insist on this Particular.

From that Time I continued constant in my Care and Charge, without intermeddling in other Affairs, until certain Overtures of Peace were propounded by the Irish Party, in my Opinion very unequal and destructive to the Protestant Religion, exceeding hurtful to his Majesty's present Service, and to the utter Ruin of the English Interest in this Kingdom.

And that his Majesty might rightly understand the Conditions of the Irish, and the Nature and Quality of their Demands, I was sent among others into Oxford, with the whole Passage of the Treaty, and did equip my self with that Freedom in every Particular, as became the Loyalty and Fidelity I owe unto my King and Country. And at our Return from Oxford, all of us that were upon the aforesaid Employment were taken at Sea, between Wales and Ireland, and carried Prisoners unto London, and committed to the Tower: A bad Recompence of my Endeavours. Yet I cannot justly complain, because foul and false Accusations were exhibited against me, which coming to be justified, had not so much as a Shadow of Truth.

Afterwards I was enlarged on Exchange, and continued my Command in Ireland with the same Duty, Zeal and Affection to the Service of my King and Country, as I had formerly done. And in pursuance thereof, the Commissioners sent over by the Parliament being willing to continue my Employment, I embrac'd it with Cheerfulness, and in few Days passing from Dublin to Drogheda, with a small Convoy of Fifteen Horse, and as many more Officers of Quality and Valour, besides some Travelers and Merchants, we were way-laid by near Three Hundred Rebels, choice Horse, well arm'd and mounted; whom notwithstanding, it being a Case of Necessity, we boldly charged, kill'd the Captain that led them; and there, in the midst of the Rebels, a young Man (to say no more of him, because he was my Son) of fair Hopes was to my continual Sorrow unfortunately slain. Afterwards we made good our Retreat Three Miles, losing in it and in the first Place of Combat Eleven Men; and amongst those Lieutenant Colonel Trevor, a Gentleman of singular Worth and Valour. Neither had the Rebels much to vaunt of, for they lost Two Leaders of Quality and Six Troopers. This I relate the more particularly, because the Opposition they found in so small a Party served greatly to abate their Courage, when we met them some nine or ten Days after, at the Battle of Dungan Hill. At that Battle I led the

Rear-guard of the Army, and acquitted myself in that Days Service as became me; whereof the Parliament, without any Motion or Expectation of mine, were pleas'd to take so far Notice as to vote me 2000 l. a year while after I fell into the County of *Cavan*, took a great Prey from the Rebels, burnt much of their Corn, and returned without the Loss of one Man.

In November following I had Notice, and gave Colonel *Jones* Advice and Assistance of *Owen Roe O'Neale's* Preparations and March towards our Quarters; and this being *Saturday* in the Evening, I sent immediately Directions that Night to the Horse at *Drogheda* and the Garrisons in those Parts, consisting of two Regiments and five Troops, to be with me at *Trim* on Monday Morning following. And accordingly seven Troops came to me, as the rest might have done to the Advantage of the Service, but did it not at that Time. With these seven Troops I followed the Rear-guard of *O'Neale*, and sometimes on his Flank, from Monday till Thursday following, taking and killing divers of his Men that were lost to fire our Quarters; by which Means I preserved much of the Country from Spoil. On Thursday in the Afternoon the rest of the Horse came up to me, and also I receiv'd a Letter from Colonel *Jones*, in any case to joyn with him near *Dublin*, if possibly I could; which I effected at *Donsin*, three Miles from *Dublin*, between Ten and Eleven that Night. The next Morning we march'd after *Owen Roe*, and before Night overtook him with his Army, between *Ratoath* and *Garristown*. That we then fought not with him, he being on his Retreat in a kind of flying Posture, was the Advice and Counsel of warier Men than my self; for Advantage ought not to be lost through the Fear of the Number of the Enemy, since the Flight of the baser Sort serves to rout the most Valorous; and we had many hopeful Reasons to make a Tryal of at that Time: But Colonel *Jones*, though not ignorant of the Occasion, yet would not be perswaded by me; but delay'd the Execution of it till the next Day, which *Owen Roe*, by stealing away that Night, utterly prevented.

Not long after I enter'd into the County of *Westmeath* with a considerable Party of Horse and Foot, took in the Town of *Foore* and another Castle, and burnt them; with several other Places, and abundance of Corn in Store and Stack, as far as *Mulkefarnam*, insomuch that when I was returned with a great Prey, the Rebels sent from *Mullingar* to offer themselves under Contribution. In my way to *Westmeath* Major *Cadogan* with a Party of Foot took in a strong House that before the Rebellion belonged to himself, with a Nest of Fifteen or Sixteen notorious Rebels. Other Services were done that Journey, which, in regard they met with no Opposition, I forbear to particularize. The

The Remainder of that Winter I often fell into the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*, always with Success, to the Destruction of many of the Rebels, and the gaining of considerable Preys: For the Want we suffer'd, and the Necessity of our Condition, required us to run many Hazards, thereby to gain a Subsistence.

In the Spring Colonel *Monck* drew a Party out of the North, march'd through the Rebels Quarters, drove all before him; and by Agreement, I fell in on the other Side, compass'd a great part of the County of *Cavan*, went through the walled Town of *Cavan*, past by *Ballyhays* and other Places, and met Colonel *Monck* on the Borders, between the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*. Between us we took a great Prey from the Rebels, distress'd them in all Places where they made Opposition, which was not considerable; inso much that though they lost much Cattle, few were slain the Defence of them. Afterwards made other Roads to the same Purpose, and ever with happy Returns.

In July Colonel *Jones* sent me two Culverins with a Party of Foot from *Dublin*, to strengthen those I could conveniently draw from *Dragheda* and the Garrisons about me, that I might be enabled to go before *Ballyhoer* and other Holds and Castles of the Rebels, which much annoy'd our Frontiers; and Colonel *Monck* drew forth a Party out of *Dundalk*, and sat down on the other Side of *Ballyhoer*, in the County of *Monaghan*. The next Morning after my Arrival I sent forth a Party, and took in a Castle that defended a Pass on *Lagan* Water, between Colonel *Monck* and myself. The Rebels in *Ballyhoer* were confident of their Strength, and comforted with Expectation of Relief, which made them Bold and Resolute to endure the Battery, and defend the Place: But when the Breach appear'd in some sort assailable, they beat a Parley; and though we were at first resolv'd not to listen to them, in regard of their Obstinacy, yet at last we condescended to forbear a little, and hear their Demands; and thereupon some of the Officers and Soldiers appearing more open than formerly, in Confidence of the Parley, the Rebels instantly gave Fire upon us. Colonel *Monck* and my self standing on the Battery close together, a Bullet pass'd through one of the Culverin Ladles, and in the Descent touch'd my Hat, and fell on Colonel *Monck's* Strap of his Buff Hangers and Girdle, cut them both through, and rested in his Buff Coat without farther Hurt; but Colonel *Ponsonby* was shot in the Leg, a little below the Knee. Whereupon we gave present Order to fall on, as we were formerly prepar'd to do; and by God's Assistance took it by Assault, putting all to the Sword (for the most part) that were found in it, which were many, in regard most of the Rebels that inhabited thereabouts were retir'd thither.

This

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This Castle taken, Colonel Monck returned to *Dundalk*, and I went forward to the *Nahbor* and *Crace's Fort*, both strong Places; but upon my Advance deserted by the Rebels, as several other Castles were, or deliver'd without a Stroke, to the Number of Nine, whereof most were blown up, the rest Garrison'd by me. I could have proceeded farther; but I had Order to return, and did so accordingly about the Beginning of *August*; at which time there was a great Fame of the Marquis of *Ormond's* landing in *Munster*, and several Officers that had served under him heretofore against the Rebels (upon no Ground that ever could appear, but the Jealousie of the Times) were sent Prisoners into *England*, others clapt in Prison in the Castle of *Dublin* and at *Drogheda*. I was inform'd that the like Proceeding was intended against my self; and that I was the first in the List to be sent over into *England*; but having the Charge of those Forces abroad, the Time was not then seasonable. Whereupon I wrote to Colonel *Jones*, that I understood I was drawn into Suspicion through some malicious Representation of me in *England*; and therefore that I might not be prejudicial to him and the Service of *Ireland*, nor receive so bad a Recompence of my many Hazards and faithful Endeavours against the Rebels in this War, as to be made an undeserved Prisoner; I craved his License to go over into *England*, that if any Crime could be laid unto my Charge, I would be there ready to clear my self, or undergo the Punishment proper for it: Which Colonel *Jones* granted.

And although at my coming to *London* I had Liberty from the Council of State to return to my Command, yet because the Times were full of Jealousies, and that I was not alike grounded in all Mens Opinions (for some Business of mine being debated in the House, it appear'd there were many that had a prejudicate Opinion of me) I therefore freely reposed my Arms, and forsook my Employment.

I have not written this to glorify my self, but to leave you, my dearly Beloved, these few Memorials of my Actions, wherein it pleased God to use me instrumentally, that you may the better frame your Address to the lawful Favour of those that have Power to assist you in the Recovery of my several Disbursements made for the Army, and my Personal Arrears. But look not on them, my Dear, as a large and precious Legacy; nor do not murmur or repine, though your Suits and just Desires are rejected: For God is All-sufficient, on whom alone I beseech you and your Family wholly to depend, making that the sole End of your Business to fear him, and keep his Commandments: So shall you be sure, in all Conditions and Estates, to find Content here, and Eternal Felicity hereafter, which God grant us all. The last Petition of

June 8th,

1651.

Your affectionate Husband,

HEN. TICHBORNE.

The Names of the several Captains, as they came in
for our Defence at Drogheda.

October 26, 1641.

THE Lord Viscount Moor of Drogheda, with his Troop of Horse
consisting of Sixty six.

Sir John Nettarwill, Captain } With their two half standing Companies.
Rockley Captain }

Seafowle Gibson, Captain } His Company of the English Inhabitants and
other Protestants were to the number of 120.

November the fourth, 1642.

Sir Henry Tichborne, Colonel and Governor of the Town, his Company
of Foot.

Sir John Borlase Captain, } These three, though having been before Of-
L. Colonel Byron Captain, } ficers of the Field, yet out of their Zeal to the
L. Colonel Wenmond Capt. } present Service came as private Captains.

Jacob Lovel, Serjeant-Major, who died in the Siege.

Captain Chichester Fortescue.

Captain Will. Willoughby.

Captain Edw. Billingsley.

Captain Lewis Owens.

Captain John Morris.

The Troops of Horse.

John Sloughrey Captain, Lieutenant to Sir Thomas Lucas, Commissary
General.

Thomas Greymes, Lieutenant to Sir Adam Loftus.

November the Tenth.

Captain Henry Bryan. Capt. Patrick Trevor. Capt. Foulke Martin.

November the Two and Twentieth.

Christopher Roger Serjeant-Major, } These 3 Captains escaped very defective
Captain William Endogan, } in their Companies from the Defeat
Captain Charles Sowlesley, } at the Bridge of Gillinstown.

Fifty Horse under the Command of Sir Patrick Weymes Captain, Lieut-
enant to the Earl of Ormond.

February the Twentieth, with our Second Relief.

Capt. Richard Barrows. Capt. Edward Trevor. Capt. Will. Hamilton.

When all the aforefaid Captains (excepting the Regiment of Sir
Henry Tichborne) were appointed to be under my Lord Moor's Command.

W E

WE whose Names are here underwritten, who have been and continued. Captains within the Town of Drogheda, during the Siege, and so Eye-witnesses of most Things which have fall'n out in it, having duly and diligently read over this Book, Entituled, *The History of the Siege of Drogheda*; do hereby according to the several Times of our coming thither, and according to our best Remembrance, confirm this foregoing History to be wholly Truth: And do Testify it to be in each Particular very impartially and fully Related.

Seaf. Gibson.

Rob. Byron.

Phil. Wenman.

Jo. Slaughter.

Rich. Borrowes.

P. Weymes.



The Lord Viscount Moor of Drogheda, his Confirmation of the Truth of the foregoing History.

Howsoever the known Integrity of the Author is a sufficient Testimony of it self, yet (having the second time read over this Book, Entituled, *The History of the Siege of Drogheda*, where I have been an Eye-witness of what hath been done from the beginning of it,) I do hereby (according to the Attestation of the Six other Captains, and in Answer to the Desire of such as have conceived it necessary) confirm this foregoing History to be wholly Truth, and in each particular to be fully and very impartially Written; (only declining throughout such Passages as may concern my self.)



MOOR.